XENOPHON

HELLENICA, BOOKS VI & VII
ANABASIS, BOOKS I—III

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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CONTENTS

XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

BOOK VI

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

ϛ

I. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ κατεστρέψαντο τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις, ἐστράτευον καὶ εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα. ὡς δ' αὖ καὶ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐπρέσβευον εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι εἰ μὴ βοηθήσοιεν, οὐ δυνήσοιντο μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἐκ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διαβιβάζουσι κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς Φωκέας Κλεόμβροτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τέτταρας μόρας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ μέρος.

2 Σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Πολυδάμας Φαρσάλιος. οὗτος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Θετταλίᾳ μάλα ηὐδοκίμει, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἐδόκει καλός τε κἀγαθὸς εἶναι ὥστε καὶ στασιάσαντες οἱ Φαρσάλιοι παρακατέθεντο αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἐπέτρεψαν λαμβάνοντι, ὅσα ἐγέγραπτο ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, εἴς τε τὰ ἱερὰ ἀναλίσκειν καὶ εἰς τὴν

XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

BOOK VI

I. The Athenians and Lacedaemonians, then, were 375 B.C.
occupied with these things. As for the Thebans, after they had subdued the cities in Boeotia they made an expedition into Phocis also. And when the 374 B.C.
Phocians, on their side, sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon and said that unless the Lacedaemonians came to their assistance they would not be able to escape yielding to the Thebans, thereupon the Lacedaemonians sent Cleombrotus, the king, across to Phocis by sea, and with him four regiments of their own and the corresponding contingents[1] of the allies.

At about this time Polydamas of Pharsalus also arrived from Thessaly and presented himself before the general assembly of the Lacedaemonians. This man was not only held in very high repute throughout all Thessaly, but in his own city was regarded as so honourable a man that, when the Pharsalians fell into factional strife, they put their Acropolis in his hands and entrusted to him the duty of receiving the revenues, and of expending, both for religious purposes and for the administration in general, all the sums which were prescribed in their

[1] Four regiments was two-thirds of the Spartan army; each one of the allies was therefore required to send out the same fraction of its total forces.

3 ἄλλην διοίκησιν. κἀκεῖνος μέντοι ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων τήν τε ἄκραν φυλάττων διέσῳζεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τἆλλα διοικῶν ἀπελογίζετο κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ ὁπότε μὲν ἐνδεήσειε, παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προσετίθει, ὁπότε δὲ περιγένοιτο τῆς προσόδου, ἀπελάμβανεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως φιλόξενός τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς τὸν Θετταλικὸν τρόπον. οὗτος οὖν ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, εἶπε τοιάδε.

4 Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρόξενος ὑμῶν ὢν καὶ εὐεργέτης ἐκ πάντων ὧν μεμνήμεθα προγόνων, ἀξιῶ, ἐάν τέ τι ἀπορῶ, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἰέναι, ἐάν τέ τι χαλεπὸν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ συνιστῆται, σημαίνειν. ἀκούετε μὲν οὖν, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, καὶ ὑμεῖς Ἰάσονος ὄνομα· ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ δύναμιν ἔχει μεγάλην καὶ ὀνομαστός ἐστιν. οὗτος δὲ σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος συνεγένετό μοι, καὶ εἶπε
5 τάδε· Ὅτι μέν, ὦ Πολυδάμα, καὶ ἄκουσαν τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν Φάρσαλον[1] δυναίμην ἂν παραστήσασθαι ἔξεστί σοι ἐκ τῶνδε λογίζεσθαι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ἔχω μὲν Θετταλίας τὰς πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας πόλεις συμμάχους· κατεστρεψάμην δ' αὐτὰς ὑμῶν σὺν αὐταῖς τὰ ἐναντία ἐμοὶ στρατευομένων. καὶ μὴν οἶσθά γε ὅτι ξένους ἔχω μισθοφόρους εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, οἷς, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐδεμία πόλις δύναιτ' ἂν ῥᾳδίως μάχεσθαι. ἀριθμὸς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλοθεν οὐκ ἂν ἐλάττων ἐξέλ-

[1] Φάρσαλον MSS.: Kel. brackets, following Schäfer.

laws. And he did, in fact, use these funds to guard the Acropolis and keep it safe for them, and likewise to administer their other affairs, rendering them an account yearly. And whenever there was a deficit he made it up from his own private purse, and whenever there was a surplus of revenue he paid himself back. Besides, he was hospitable and magnificent, after the Thessalian manner. Now when this man arrived at Lacedaemon he spoke as follows: 374 B.C.

"Men of Lacedaemon, I am your diplomatic agent and 'benefactor,'[1] as all my ancestors have been of whom we have any knowledge; I therefore deem it proper, if I am in any difficulty, to come to you, and if any trouble is gathering for you in Thessaly, to make it known to you. Now you also, I am very sure, often hear the name of Jason[2] spoken, for the man has great power and is famous. This man, after concluding a truce with my city, had a meeting with me and spoke as follows: 'Polydamas, that I could bring over your city, Pharsalus, even against its will, you may conclude from the following facts. You know,' he said, 'that I have as allies the greater number and the largest of the cities of Thessaly; and I subdued them when you were with them in the field against me. Furthermore, you are aware that I have men of other states as mercenaries to the number of six thousand, with whom, as I think, no city could easily contend. As for numbers,' he said, 'of course as great a force might march out of

[1] A title of honour which Greek states often gave to aliens who had rendered them service.
[2] Tyrant of Pherae, a city in south-eastern Thessaly.

θοι· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων στρατεύματα τοὺς μὲν προεληλυθότας ἤδη ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἔχει, τοὺς δ' οὔπω ἀκμάζοντας. σωμασκοῦσί γε μὴν μάλα ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει· παρ' ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς μισθοφορεῖ, ὅστις μὴ ἱκανός ἐστιν ἐμοὶ ἴσα
6 πονεῖν. αὐτὸς δ' ἐστί, λέγειν γὰρ χρὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τἀληθῆ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα μάλα εὔρωστος καὶ ἄλλως φιλόπονος. καὶ τοίνυν τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ πεῖραν λαμβάνει καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν· ἡγεῖται γὰρ σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ ὅταν πη στρατεύηται. καὶ οὓς μὲν ἂν μαλακοὺς τῶν ξένων αἰσθάνηται, ἐκβάλλει, οὓς δ' ἂν ὁρᾷ φιλοπόνως καὶ φιλοκινδύνως ἔχοντας πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, τιμᾷ, τοὺς μὲν διμοιρίαις, τοὺς δὲ τριμοιρίαις, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τετραμοιρίαις, καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις, καὶ νόσων γε θεραπείαις καὶ περὶ ταφὰς κόσμῳ· ὥστε πάντες ἴσασιν οἱ παρ' ἐκείνῳ ξένοι ὅτι ἡ πολεμικὴ αὐτοῖς ἀρετὴ ἐντιμότατόν τε βίον καὶ ἀφθονώτατον παρέχεται.

7 Ἐπεδείκνυε δέ μοι εἰδότι ὅτι καὶ ὑπήκοοι ἤδη αὐτῷ εἶεν Μαρακοὶ καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Ἀλκέτας ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἠπείρῳ ὕπαρχος· Ὥστε, ἔφη, τί ἂν ἐγὼ φοβούμενος οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἂν ὑμᾶς οἰοίμην καταστρέψασθαι; τάχα οὖν ὑπολάβοι ἄν τις ἐμοῦ ἄπειρος· Τί οὖν μέλλεις καὶ οὐκ ἤδη στρατεύεις ἐπὶ τοὺς Φαρσαλίους; ὅτι νὴ Δία τῷ παντὶ κρεῖττόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἑκόντας ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἄκοντας προσαγαγέσθαι. βιασθέντες μὲν γὰρ ὑμεῖς τ' ἂν βουλεύοισθε ὅ τι δύναισθε

some other city also; but armies made up of citizens include men who are already advanced in years and others who have not yet come to their prime. Furthermore, in every city very few men train their bodies, but among my mercenaries no one serves unless he is able to endure as severe toils as I myself.' And he himself—for I must tell you the truth—is exceedingly strong of body and a lover of toil besides. Indeed, he makes trial every day of the men under him, for in full armour he leads them, both on the parade-ground and whenever he is on a campaign anywhere. And whomsoever among his mercenaries he finds to be weaklings he casts out, but whomsoever he sees to be fond of toil and fond of the dangers of war he rewards, some with double pay, others with triple pay, others even with quadruple pay, and with gifts besides, as well as with care in sickness and magnificence in burial; so that all the mercenaries in his service know that martial prowess assures to them a life of greatest honour and abundance. 374 B.C.

"He pointed out to me, further, although I knew it before, that he already had as subjects the Maracians, the Dolopians, and Alcetas, the ruler in Epirus. 'Therefore,' he said, 'what have I to fear that I should not expect to subdue you easily? To be sure, one who did not know me might perhaps retort, "Then why do you delay, instead of prosecuting your campaign against the Pharsalians at once?" Because, by Zeus, it seems to me to be altogether better to bring you over to my side willingly rather than unwillingly. For if you were constrained by force, you, on the one hand, would be planning whatever harm you could against me, and I, on the other,

κακὸν ἐμοί, ἐγώ τ' ἂν ὑμᾶς ὡς ἀσθενεστάτους βουλοίμην εἶναι· εἰ δὲ πεισθέντες μετ' ἐμοῦ γένοισθε, δῆλον ὅτι αὔξοιμεν ἂν ὅ τι δυναίμεθα
8 ἀλλήλους. γιγνώσκω μὲν οὖν, ὦ Πολυδάμα, ὅτι ἡ σὴ πατρὶς εἰς σὲ ἀποβλέπει· ἐὰν δέ μοι φιλικῶς αὐτὴν ἔχειν παρασκευάσῃς, ὑπισχνοῦμαί σοι, ἔφη, ἐγὼ μέγιστόν σε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μετ' ἐμὲ καταστήσειν· οἵων δὲ πραγμάτων τὰ δεύτερά σοι δίδωμι ἄκουε, καὶ μηδὲν πίστευέ μοι ὅ τι ἂν μὴ λογιζομένῳ σοι ἀληθὲς φαίνηται. οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν εὔδηλον ἡμῖν, ὅτι Φαρσάλου προσγενομένης καὶ τῶν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἠρτημένων πόλεων εὐπετῶς ἂν ἐγὼ ταγὸς Θετταλῶν ἁπάντων κατασταίην· ὥς γε μήν, ὅταν ταγεύηται Θετταλία, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους μὲν οἱ ἱππεύοντες γίγνονται, ὁπλῖται δὲ
9 πλείους ἢ μύριοι καθίστανται. ὧν ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ὁρῶν οἶμαι ἂν αὐτῶν εἰ καλῶς τις ἐπιμελοῖτο, οὐκ εἶναι ἔθνος ὁποίῳ ἂν ἀξιώσαιεν ὑπήκοοι εἶναι Θετταλοί. πλατυτάτης γε μὴν γῆς οὔσης Θετταλίας, πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ ἔθνη ὑπήκοα μέν ἐστιν, ὅταν ταγὸς ἐνθάδε καταστῇ· σχεδὸν δὲ πάντες οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκοντισταί εἰσιν· ὥστε καὶ πελταστικῷ εἰκὸς ὑπερέ-
10 χειν τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν. καὶ μὴν Βοιωτοί γε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ὅσοι Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμοῦντες ὑπάρχουσί μοι σύμμαχοι· καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τοίνυν ἀξιοῦσιν ἐμοί, ἂν μόνον ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθερῶ αὐτούς. καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πάντα ποιήσαιεν ἂν ὥστε σύμμαχοι ἡμῖν γενέ-

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[1] *Over-lord*, a Thessalian title.

[2] Therefore Thessaly was famous for its cavalry, and produced hoplites also (see above); but peltasts—which were at

should be wanting to keep you as weak as I could; 374 B.C. but if it was through persuasion that you joined with me, it is clear that we should advance one another's interests to the best of our ability. Now I know, Polydamas, that your city looks to you, and if you make her friendly to me I promise you,' he said, 'that I will make you the greatest, next to myself, of all the men in Greece; and what manner of fortune it is wherein I offer you the second place, hear from me, and believe nothing that I say unless upon consideration it appears to you true. Well, then, this is plain to us, that if Pharsalus and the cities which are dependent upon you should be added to my power, I could easily become Tagus[1] of all the Thessalians; and, further, that whenever Thessaly is under a Tagus, her horsemen amount to six thousand and more than ten thousand men become hoplites. And when I see both their bodies and their high spirit, I think that if one should handle them rightly, there would be no people to whom the Thessalians would deign to be subject. Again, while Thessaly is an exceedingly flat land,[2] all the peoples round about are subject to her as soon as a Tagus is established here; and almost all who dwell in these neighbouring regions are javelin-men, so that it is likely that our force would be far superior in peltasts also. Furthermore, the Boeotians and all the others who are at war with the Lacedaemonians are my allies, and they are ready to be my followers, too, if only I free them from the Lacedaemonians. The Athenians also, I know very well, would do anything

their best in a rough country—could nevertheless be obtained, Jason urges, from the mountainous regions which adjoined Thessaly and were likely to become subject to him (see below).

σθαι· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκῶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι. νομίζω γὰρ ἔτι ῥᾷον τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἢ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν ἄν.

11 Εἰ δὲ εἰκότα λογίζομαι, σκόπει, ἔφη, καὶ ταῦτα. ἔχοντες μέν γε Μακεδονίαν, ἔνθεν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ξύλα ἄγονται, πολὺ δήπου πλείους ἐκείνων ἱκανοὶ ἐσόμεθα ναῦς ποιήσασθαι. ἀνδρῶν γε μὴν ταύτας πληροῦν πότερον Ἀθηναίους ἢ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς μᾶλλον δύνασθαι, τοσούτους καὶ τοιούτους ἔχοντας πενέστας; τούς γε μὴν ναύτας τρέφειν πότερον ἡμᾶς ἱκανωτέρους εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς δι' ἀφθονίαν καὶ ἄλλοσε σῖτον ἐκπέμποντας ἢ Ἀθηναίους τοὺς μηδ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανὸν ἔχοντας, ἂν

12 μὴ πρίωνται; καὶ χρήμασί γε εἰκὸς δήπου ἡμᾶς ἀφθονωτέροις χρῆσθαι μὴ εἰς νησύδρια ἀποβλέποντας, ἀλλ' ἠπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη καρπουμένους. πάντα γὰρ δήπου τὰ κύκλῳ φόρον φέρει, ὅταν ταγεύηται τὰ κατὰ Θετταλίαν. οἶσθα δὲ δήπου ὅτι καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν οὐ νήσους ἀλλ' ἤπειρον καρπούμενος πλουσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν· ὃν ἐγὼ ὑπήκοον ποιήσασθαι ἔτι εὐκατεργαστότερον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶδα γὰρ πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώπους πλὴν ἑνὸς μᾶλλον δουλείαν ἢ ἀλκὴν μεμελετηκότας, οἶδα δὲ ὑφ' οἵας δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάσης καὶ τῆς μετ' Ἀγησιλάου εἰς πᾶν ἀφίκετο βασιλεύς.

13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ ἀπεκρινάμην

to become allies of ours, but I do not think it best to establish a friendship with them; for I believe that I could obtain empire by sea even more easily than by land. 374 B.C.

"'To see whether my calculations are reasonable,' he said, 'consider these points also. With Macedonia in our possession, the place from which the Athenians get their timber, we shall of course be able to construct far more ships than they. Again, who are likely to be better able to supply these ships with men, the Athenians or ourselves, who have so many serfs of so excellent a sort? And who are likely to be better able to maintain the sailors, we, who on account of our abundance even have corn to export to other lands, or the Athenians, who have not even enough for themselves unless they buy it? Then as for money, we surely should be likely to enjoy a greater abundance of it, for we should not be looking to little islands for our revenues, but drawing upon the resources of peoples of the continent. For of course all who are round about us pay tribute as soon as Thessaly is under a Tagus. And you certainly know that it is by drawing upon the resources, not of islands, but of a continent, that the King of the Persians is the richest of mortals; and yet I think that it is even easier to reduce him to subjection than to reduce Greece. For I know that everybody there, save one person, has trained himself to servitude rather than to prowess, and I know what manner of force it was—both that which went up with Cyrus and that which went up with Agesilaus—that brought the King to extremities.'

"Now in answer to these statements I replied

ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀξιόσκεπτα λέγει, τὸ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὄντας φίλους ἀποστῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, μηδὲν ἔχοντας ἐγκαλεῖν, τοῦτ', ἔφην, ἄπορόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι· ὁ δ' ἐπαινέσας με καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι μᾶλλον ἑκτέον μου εἴη, ὅτι τοιοῦτος εἴην, ἐφῆκέ μοι ἐλθόντι πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγειν τἀληθῆ, ὅτι διανοοῖτο στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Φαρσαλίους, εἰ μὴ πεισοίμεθα. αἰτεῖν οὖν ἐκέλευε βοήθειαν παρ' ὑμῶν. Καὶ ἐὰν μὲν θεοί,[1] ἔφη, διδῶσιν ὥστε σε πείθειν ἱκανὴν πέμπειν συμμαχίαν ὡς ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖν, ἄγ', ἔφη, καὶ τούτῳ χρώμεθα ὅ τι ἂν ἀποβαίνῃ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου· ἂν δέ σοι μὴ δοκῶσιν ἱκανῶς βοηθεῖν, οὐκ ἤδη ἀνέγκλητος ἂν δικαίως εἴης εἰ[2] τῇ πατρίδι, ἥ σε τιμᾷ, καὶ σὺ πράττοις τὰ κράτιστα;

14 Περὶ τούτων δὴ ἐγὼ ἥκω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ λέγω πάντα ὅσα ἐκεῖ αὐτός τε ὁρῶ καὶ ἐκείνου ἀκήκοα. καὶ νομίζω οὕτως ἔχειν, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ μὲν πέμψετε ἐκεῖσε δύναμιν, ὡς μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Θετταλοῖς ἱκανὴν δοκεῖν εἶναι πρὸς Ἰάσονα πολεμεῖν, ἀποστήσονται αὐτοῦ αἱ πόλεις· πᾶσαι γὰρ φοβοῦνται ὅποι ποτὲ προβήσεται ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δύναμις. εἰ δὲ νεοδαμώδεις καὶ ἄνδρα ἰδιώτην οἴεσθε ἀρκέσειν, συμ-

15 βουλεύω ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι[3] πρός τε μεγάλην ἔσται ῥώμην ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ πρὸς

[1] θεοί Cobet: σοί Kel. with MSS.
[2] εἰ Madvig: ἐν MSS.: ἐν τῇ πατρίδι . . . καὶ οὗ πράττεις Kel.
[3] Omitted by MS. B: Kel. brackets.

that while the other matters which he mentioned 374 B.C. were worth considering, nevertheless for people who were friends of the Lacedaemonians to secede and go over to their enemies without having any charge to bring against them—this, I said, seemed to me to be impracticable. He thereupon, after commending me and saying that he must cling to me the more because I was that sort of a man, permitted me to come to you and say the truth, that he was intending to undertake a campaign against the Pharsalians if we did not yield to him. Therefore he bade me ask assistance from you. 'And if,' said he, 'the gods grant that you persuade them to send a supporting force large enough to make war with me, so be it,' he said, 'and let us abide by whatever may be the result of the war; but if it seems to you that they do not give you adequate assistance, would you not justly be blameless thenceforth if you should follow the course that is best for your city, which honours you?'

"It is about these matters, then, that I have come to you, and I tell you the whole situation there as I myself see it and have heard it from his lips. And I believe that this is the case, men of Lacedaemon, that if you send thither a force such as shall seem, not to me only, but also to the rest of the Thessalians, large enough to make war upon Jason, the cities will revolt from him; for all of them are afraid of the lengths to which the man's power will go. But if you imagine that emancipated Helots and a private individual[1] as commander will suffice, I advise you to remain quiet. For, be well assured, the war will be against strong forces

[1] *i.e.* not a king.

ἄνδρα ὃς φρόνιμος μὲν οὕτω στρατηγός ἐστιν ὡς ὅσα τε λανθάνειν καὶ ὅσα φθάνειν καὶ ὅσα βιάζεσθαι ἐπιχειρεῖ οὐ μάλα ἀφαμαρτάνει. ἱκανὸς γάρ ἐστι καὶ νυκτὶ ἅπερ ἡμέρᾳ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὅταν σπεύδῃ, ἄριστον καὶ δεῖπνον ποιησάμενος ἅμα πονεῖσθαι. οἴεται δὲ καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρῆναι, ὅταν ἀφίκηται ἔνθ' ἂν ὡρμημένος ᾖ καὶ διαπράξηται ἃ δεῖ· καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὑτοῦ δὲ ταῦτα εἴθικεν. ἐπίσταται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἐπιπονήσαντες ἀγαθόν τι πράξωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐκπλῆσαι τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο μεμαθήκασι πάντες οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν πόνων καὶ τὰ μαλακὰ
16 γίγνεται. καὶ μὴν ἐγκρατέστατός γ' ἐστὶν ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν· ὥστε οὐδὲ διὰ ταῦτα ἀσχολίαν ἔχει τὸ μὴ πράττειν ἀεὶ τὸ δεόμενον. ὑμεῖς οὖν σκεψάμενοι εἴπατε πρὸς ἐμέ, ὥσπερ ὑμῖν προσήκει, ὁποῖα δυνήσεσθέ τε καὶ μέλλετε ποιήσειν.

17 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τότε μὲν ἀνεβάλοντο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ λογισάμενοι τάς τε ἔξω μόρας ὅσαι αὐτοῖς εἶεν καὶ τὰς περὶ Λακεδαίμονα πρὸς τὰς [1] τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις καὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους πόλεμον, ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο ἱκανὴν αὐτῷ ἐκπέμψαι ἐπικουρίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπιόντα συντίθεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον ὅπῃ δύναιτο ἄριστα τά τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς
18 πόλεως. κἀκεῖνος μέντοι ἐπαινέσας τὴν ἁπλό-

[1] After τὰς the MSS. have ἔξω: Kel. brackets.

and against a man who is so sagacious a general that whatsoever he undertakes to accomplish, whether it be by secrecy, or by getting ahead of an enemy, or by sheer force, he is not very apt to fail of his object. For he is able to make as good use of night as of day, and when he is in haste, to take breakfast and dinner together and go on with his labours. And he thinks it is proper to rest only after he has reached the goal for which he had set out and has accomplished the things that are needful; moreover, he has accustomed his followers also to the same habits. Yet he also knows how to satisfy the wishes of his soldiers when by added toils they have achieved some success; so that all who are with him have learned this lesson too, that from toils come indulgences. Again, he has greater self-control than any man I know as regards the pleasures of the body, so that he is not prevented by such things, either, from doing always what needs to be done. Consider, therefore, and tell me, as beseems you, what you will be able to do and intend to do." 374 B.C

Thus he spoke. As for the Lacedaemonians, at the time they deferred their answer; but after reckoning up on the next day and on the third their regiments abroad, to see how many they numbered, and the regiments which were in the vicinity of Lacedaemon to be employed against the triremes of the Athenians and for the war upon their neighbours, they replied that at present they could not send him an adequate supporting force, and told him to go home and arrange his own affairs and those of his city as best he could. He, then, after commending the straightforwardness of the state, departed.

τητα τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆλθε. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Φαρσαλίων ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Ἰάσονος μὴ ἀναγκάσαι αὐτὸν παραδοῦναι, ὅπως τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις διασῴζῃ· τοὺς δὲ ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἔδωκεν ὁμήρους, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτῷ τήν τε πόλιν πείσας ἑκοῦσαν σύμμαχον ποιήσειν καὶ ταγὸν συγκαταστήσειν αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, εὐθὺς μὲν οἱ Φαρσάλιοι εἰρήνην ἦγον, ταχὺ δὲ ὁ Ἰάσων ὁμολογουμένως ταγὸς τῶν Θετταλῶν
19 καθειστήκει. ἐπεί γε μὴν ἐτάγευσε, διέταξεν ἱππικόν τε ὅσον ἑκάστη πόλις δυνατὴ ἦν παρέχειν καὶ ὁπλιτικόν. καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ ἱππεῖς μὲν σὺν τοῖς συμμάχοις πλείους ἢ ὀκτακισχίλιοι, ὁπλῖται δὲ ἐλογίσθησαν οὐκ ἐλάττους δισμυρίων, πελταστικόν γε μὴν ἱκανὸν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀντιταχθῆναι· ἔργον γὰρ ἐκείνων γε καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀριθμῆσαι. προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς περιοίκοις πᾶσι καὶ τὸν φόρον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Σκόπα τεταγμένος ἦν φέρειν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπεραίνετο· ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν ἐπάνειμι, ὅθεν εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰάσονος πράξεις ἐξέβην.

II. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι συνελέγοντο εἰς τοὺς Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐφύλαττον τὰς εἰσβολάς. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐξανομένους μὲν ὁρῶντες διὰ σφᾶς τοὺς Θηβαίους, χρήματά τε οὐ συμβαλλομένους εἰς τὸ ναυτικόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀποκναιόμενοι καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφοραῖς καὶ λῃστείαις

And he begged Jason not to force him to give over the Acropolis of the Pharsalians, his wish being that he might still keep it safe for those who had put it into his hands; but he gave his own children to Jason as hostages, with the promise not only to win over the city and make it his willing ally, but also to help in establishing him as Tagus. When, accordingly, they had exchanged pledges with one another, the Pharsalians at once observed peace, and Jason was speedily established by common consent as Tagus of the Thessalians. Having become Tagus, he assessed the contingents of cavalry and hoplites that the cities were to furnish, according to the ability of each. And the result was that he had more than eight thousand horsemen, including the allies, his hoplites were reckoned at not fewer than twenty thousand, and there were peltasts enough to be set in array against the whole world; for it is a task even to enumerate the cities which furnished them. Further, he sent orders to all who dwelt round about to pay the same tribute as had been fixed in the time of Scopas.[1] Thus these events were proceeding to their issue; I now return to the point at which I digressed when I took up the story of Jason. 374 B.C.

II. The Lacedaemonians, then, and their allies were gathering together in Phocis, and the Thebans had withdrawn to their own country and were guarding the passes. As for the Athenians, since they saw that the Thebans were growing in power through their help and still were not contributing money for their fleet, while they were themselves being worn out by extraordinary taxes, by plundering expeditions

[1] Ruler of Crannon and Tagus of Thessaly in the period of the Persian wars.

ἐξ Αἰγίνης καὶ φυλακαῖς τῆς χώρας, ἐπεθύμησαν παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο.

2 Εὐθὺς δ' ἐκεῖθεν δύο τῶν πρέσβεων πλεύσαντες κατὰ δόγμα τῆς πόλεως εἶπον τῷ Τιμοθέῳ ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε ὡς εἰρήνης οὔσης· ὁ δ' ἅμα ἀποπλέων τοὺς τῶν Ζακυνθίων φυγάδας ἀπεβίβασεν εἰς
3 τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ζακύνθιοι πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔλεγον οἷα πεπονθότες εἶεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιμοθέου, εὐθὺς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀδικεῖν τε ἡγοῦντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ναυτικὸν πάλιν κατεσκεύαζον καὶ συνετάττοντο εἰς ἑξήκοντα ναῦς ἀπ' αὐτῆς τε τῆς Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Λευκάδος καὶ Ἀμβρακίας καὶ Ἤλιδος καὶ Ζακύνθου καὶ Ἀχαΐας καὶ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ Τροιζῆνος καὶ Ἑρ-
4 μιόνος καὶ Ἁλιῶν. ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ ναύαρχον Μνάσιππον ἐκέλευον τῶν τε ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν θάλατταν καὶ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς Διονύσιον διδάσκοντες ὡς καὶ ἐκείνῳ χρήσιμον εἴη τὴν Κέρκυραν μὴ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι.

5 Καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Μνάσιππος, ἐπεὶ συνελέγη αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν· εἶχε δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρους σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευομένοις οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων καὶ
6 πεντακοσίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέβη, ἐκράτει τε τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐδῄου ἐξειργασμένην μὲν παγκάλως καὶ πεφυτευμένην τὴν χώραν, μεγαλοπρεπεῖς δὲ οἰκήσεις

from Aegina, and by guarding their territory, 374 B.C.
they conceived a desire to cease from the war, and sending ambassadors to Lacedaemon, concluded peace.

Two of the Athenian ambassadors, acting in accordance with a decree of the state, sailed directly from there and gave orders to Timotheus to sail back home, inasmuch as there was peace; as he was sailing back, however, he landed in their country the exiles of the Zacynthians. And when the Zacynthians in the city sent to the Lacedaemonians and told them the sort of treatment they had received at the hands of Timotheus, the Lacedaemonians immediately deemed the Athenians guilty of wrong-doing, set about preparing a fleet again, and fixed the proportionate contingents, for a total of sixty ships, from Lacedaemon itself, Corinth, Leucas, Ambracia, Elis, Zacynthus, Achaea, Epidaurus, Troezen, Hermion, and Haliae. Then they put Mnasippus in command of this fleet as admiral and directed him to look after all their interests in that part of the sea, and especially to make an expedition against Corcyra. They likewise sent to Dionysius,[1] pointing out that it was advantageous to him also that Corcyra should not be under the Athenians.

Mnasippus, accordingly, as soon as his fleet had been gathered together, set sail to Corcyra; and besides the troops from Lacedaemon who served with him he also had no fewer than one thousand five hundred mercenaries. Now when he had disembarked he was master of the country, laid waste the land, which was most beautifully cultivated and planted, and destroyed magnificent dwellings and

[1] Tyrant of Syracuse.

*καὶ οἰνῶνας κατεσκευασμένους ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν·
ὥστ' ἔφασαν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς
ἐλθεῖν ὥστ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν πίνειν, εἰ μὴ ἀνθοσμίας
εἴη. καὶ ἀνδράποδα δὲ καὶ βοσκήματα πάμπολλα
7 ἡλίσκετο ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. ἔπειτα δὲ κατεστρατο-
πεδεύσατο τῷ μὲν πεζῷ ἐπὶ λόφῳ ἀπέχοντι τῆς
πόλεως ὡς πέντε στάδια, πρὸ τῆς χώρας ὄντι,
ὅπως ἀποτέμνοιτο ἐντεῦθεν, εἴ τις ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν
τῶν* Κερκυραίων *ἐξίοι· τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν εἰς τἀπὶ
θάτερα τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν, ἔνθεν
ᾤετ' ἂν τὰ προσπλέοντα καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι καὶ
διακωλύειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι,
8 ὁπότε μὴ χειμὼν κωλύοι, ἐφώρμει. ἐπολιόρκει
μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὴν πόλιν.*

Ἐπεὶ *δὲ οἱ* Κερκυραῖοι *ἐκ μὲν τῆς γῆς οὐδὲν
ἐλάμβανον διὰ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι κατὰ γῆν, κατὰ
θάλατταν δὲ οὐδὲν εἰσήγετο αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ
9 ναυκρατεῖσθαι, ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν. καὶ
πέμποντες πρὸς τοὺς* Ἀθηναίους *βοηθεῖν τε
ἐδέοντο καὶ ἐδίδασκον ὡς μέγα μὲν ἀγαθὸν
ἀποβάλοιεν ἄν, εἰ* Κερκύρας *στερηθεῖεν, τοῖς
δὲ πολεμίοις μεγάλην ἂν ἰσχὺν προσβάλοιεν·
ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ πόλεως πλήν γε* Ἀθηνῶν *οὔτε
ναῦς οὔτε χρήματα πλείω ἂν γενέσθαι. ἔτι δὲ
κεῖσθαι τὴν* Κέρκυραν *ἐν καλῷ μὲν τοῦ* Κοριν-*
θιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν πόλεων αἳ ἐπὶ τοῦτον
καθήκουσιν, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τοῦ τὴν* Λακωνικὴν *
χώραν βλάπτειν, ἐν καλλίστῳ δὲ τῆς τε ἀντι-*

wine-cellars with which the farms were furnished; 374 B.C.
the result was, it was said, that his soldiers became so luxurious that they would not drink any wine unless it had a fine bouquet. Furthermore, very many slaves and cattle were captured on the farms. Afterwards he encamped with his land forces on a hill which was distant from the city about five stadia and situated between the city and the country, so that he might from there intercept any of the Corcyraeans who might try to go out to their lands; then he had the sailors from his ships encamp on the other side of the city, at a point from which he thought they would observe in good time any vessels that approached and prevent their coming in. In addition he also maintained a blockade at the mouth of the harbour when the weather did not interfere. In this way, then, he held the city besieged.

When the Corcyraeans found themselves unable to get anything from their farms because they were overmastered by land, while on the other hand nothing was brought in to them by water because they were overmastered by sea, they were in great straits. Accordingly, sending to the Athenians, they begged them to come to their assistance, and pointed out that they would lose a great advantage if they were deprived of Corcyra, and would add great strength to their enemies; for from no other state, they said, except Athens, could come a greater number of ships or a greater amount of money. Further, Corcyra was situated in a favourable position with respect to the Corinthian Gulf and the states which reach down to its shores, in a favourable position for doing damage to the territory of Laconia, and in an extremely favourable position with respect to Epirus across the

πέρας Ἠπείρου καὶ τοῦ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπὸ
10 Σικελίας παράπλου. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνόμισαν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι,
καὶ στρατηγὸν πέμπουσι Κτησικλέα εἰς ἑξακο-
σίους ἔχοντα πελταστάς, Ἀλκέτου δὲ ἐδεήθησαν
11 συνδιαβιβάσαι τούτους. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν νυκτὸς
διακομισθέντες πού τῆς χώρας εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν
πόλιν. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ ἑξήκοντα ναῦς πλη-
ροῦν, Τιμόθεον δ' αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν ἐχειροτόνησαν.
12 ὁ δ' οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτόθεν τὰς ναῦς πληρῶσαι,
ἐπὶ νήσων πλεύσας ἐκεῖθεν ἐπειρᾶτο συμπληροῦν,
οὐ φαῦλον ἡγούμενος εἶναι ἐπὶ συγκεκροτημένας
13 ναῦς εἰκῇ περιπλεῦσαι. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι νομί-
ζοντες αὐτὸν ἀναλοῦν τὸν τῆς ὥρας εἰς τὸν περί-
πλουν χρόνον, συγγνώμην οὐκ ἔσχον αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ
παύσαντες αὐτὸν τῆς στρατηγίας Ἰφικράτην
14 ἀνθαιροῦνται. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ κατέστη στρατηγός,
μάλα ὀξέως τὰς ναῦς ἐπληροῦτο καὶ τοὺς τριηρ-
άρχους ἠνάγκαζε. προσέλαβε δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων καὶ εἴ πού τις ναῦς περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔπλει
καὶ τὴν Πάραλον καὶ τὴν Σαλαμινίαν, λέγων ὡς
ἐὰν τἀκεῖ καλῶς γένηται, πολλὰς αὐτοῖς ναῦς
ἀποπέμψοι. καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ ἅπασαι περὶ
ἑβδομήκοντα.
15 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι οὕτω
σφόδρα ἐπείνων ὥστε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αὐτο-
μολούντων ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Μνάσιππος πεπρᾶσθαι
ὅστις αὐτομολοίη. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἧττον ηὐτομό-

way and the coastwise route from Sicily to Peloponnesus. When the Athenians heard these things they came to the conclusion that they must give serious care to the matter, and they sent out Ctesicles as general with about six hundred peltasts and requested Alcetas[1] to help to convey them across. Accordingly these troops were brought across by night to a place in the country of Corcyra, and made their way into the city. The Athenians also voted to man sixty ships, and elected Timotheus as commander of them. But he was unable to man his ships at Athens, and therefore set sail for the islands and endeavoured to complete his crews there, thinking that it was a serious matter to sail light-heartedly around Peloponnesus to attack ships with well-trained crews. The Athenians, however, believing that he was using up the time of the year which was favourable for his voyage, did not pardon him, but deposed him from his office and chose Iphicrates in his place. As soon as he assumed office, he proceeded to man his ships expeditiously, and compelled his captains to do their duty. He also obtained from the Athenians whatever war-ships were cruising here or there in the neighbourhood of Attica, as well as the Paralus[2] and the Salaminia, saying that if matters in Corcyra turned out successfully, he would send them back many ships. And his ships amounted in all to about seventy.

374 B.C.

373 B.C.

Meanwhile the Corcyraeans were suffering so greatly from hunger that on account of the number of the deserters Mnasippus issued a proclamation directing that whoever deserted should be sold into slavery. And when they kept on deserting none the

[1] *cp.* i. 7. [2] *cp.* II. i. 28.

λουν, τελευτῶν καὶ μαστιγῶν ἀπέπεμπεν. οἱ μέντοι ἔνδοθεν τούς γε δούλους οὐκ ἐδέχοντο πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ ἔξω ἀπέθνη-
16 σκον. ὁ δ' αὖ Μνάσιππος ὁρῶν ταῦτα, ἐνόμιζέ τε ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκαινούργει, καὶ τοὺς μέν τινας αὐτῶν ἀπομίσθους ἐπεποιήκει, τοῖς δὲ μένουσι καὶ δυοῖν ἤδη μηνοῖν ὤφειλε τὸν μισθόν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, ὡς ἐλέγετο, χρημάτων· καὶ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων αἱ πολλαὶ αὐτῷ ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔπεμπον,
17 ἅτε καὶ διαποντίου τῆς στρατείας οὔσης. κατιδόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τάς τε φυλακὰς χεῖρον ἢ πρόσθεν φυλαττομένας ἐσπαρμένους τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεκδραμόντες τοὺς μέν τινας αὐτῶν ἔλαβον,
18 τοὺς δὲ κατέκοψαν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Μνάσιππος, αὐτός τε ἐξωπλίζετο καὶ ὅσους εἶχεν ὁπλίτας ἅπασιν ἐβοήθει, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἐξάγειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς μισθοφόρους.
19 ἀποκριναμένων δέ τινων λοχαγῶν ὅτι οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἴη μὴ διδόντας τἀπιτήδεια πειθομένους παρέχειν, τὸν μέν τινα βακτηρίᾳ, τὸν δὲ τῷ στύρακι ἐπάταξεν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτὸν συνεξῆλθον πάντες· ὅπερ ἥκιστα εἰς μάχην συμφέρει.
20 Ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ παρετάξατο, αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς πύλας τῶν πολεμίων τρεψάμενος ἐπεδίωκεν. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ἐγένοντο, ἀνέστρεφόν τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μνημάτων ἔβαλλον

less, at last he even tried to drive them back with the scourge. Those in the city, however, would not admit the slaves within the wall again, and many died outside. Now Mnasippus, seeing these things, and believing that he all but had possession of the city already, was trying innovations with his mercenaries. He had before this dismissed some of them from his service, and he now owed those who remained as much as two months' pay. This was not, so it was said, because he lacked money, for most of the states had sent him money instead of men,[1] because it was an overseas expedition. Now the people in the city, observing from their towers that the enemy's posts were less carefully guarded than formerly, and that the men were scattered through the country, made a sally, capturing some of them and cutting down others. When Mnasippus perceived this, he put on his armour and went to the rescue himself, with all the hoplites he had, and at the same time ordered the captains and commanders of divisions to lead forth the mercenaries. And when some captains replied that it was not easy to keep men obedient unless they were given provisions, he struck one of them with a staff and another with the spike of his spear. So it was, then, that when his forces issued from the city with him they were all dispirited and hostile to him—a situation that is by no means conducive to fighting. 373 B.C.

Now after he had formed the troops in line, Mnasippus himself turned to flight those of the enemy who were in front of the gates, and pursued them. When, however, these came near the wall, they turned about, and from the tombstones threw spears

[1] Under the arrangement described in v. ii. 21.

καὶ ἠκόντιζον· ἄλλοι δ' ἐκδραμόντες καθ' ἑτέρας
21 πύλας ἐπιτίθενται ἀθρόοι τοῖς ἐσχάτοις· οἱ δ' ἐπ'
ὀκτὼ τεταγμένοι, ἀσθενὲς νομίσαντες τὸ ἄκρον
τῆς φάλαγγος ἔχειν, ἀναστρέφειν ἐπειρῶντο.
ὡς δ' ἤρξαντο ἐπαναχωρεῖν, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ὡς
φεύγουσιν ἐπέθεντο, οἱ δ' οὐκέτι ἐπανέστρεψαν·
22 καὶ οἱ ἐχόμενοι δ' αὐτῶν εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμων. ὁ δὲ
Μνάσιππος τοῖς μὲν πιεζομένοις οὐκ ἐδύνατο
βοηθεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ καταντικρὺ προσκει-
μένους, ἀεὶ δ' ἐλείπετο σὺν ἐλάττοσι. τέλος δὲ
οἱ πολέμιοι ἀθρόοι γενόμενοι πάντες ἐπετίθεντο
τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μνάσιππον, ἤδη μάλα ὀλίγοις οὖσι.
καὶ οἱ πολῖται ὁρῶντες τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐπεξῇσαν.
23 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνον ἀπέκτειναν, ἐδίωκον ἤδη ἅπαντες.
ἐκινδύνευσαν δ' ἂν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἑλεῖν σὺν
τῷ χαρακώματι, εἰ μὴ οἱ διώκοντες τὸν ἀγοραῖόν
τε ὄχλον ἰδόντες καὶ τὸν τῶν θεραπόντων καὶ τὸν
τῶν ἀνδραπόδων, οἰηθέντες ὄφελός τι αὐτῶν εἶναι,
24 ἀπεστρέφοντο. καὶ τότε μὲν τροπαῖόν τε ἵστα-
σαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τούς τε νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους
ἀπεδίδοσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει
ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἐγεγένηντο, οἱ δ' ἔξω ἐν πάσῃ δὴ
ἀθυμίᾳ ἦσαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐλέγετο ὅτι Ἰφικράτης τε
ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη παρείη, καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τῷ
25 ὄντι ναῦς ἐπλήρουν. Ὑπερμένης δέ, ὃς ἐτύγ-

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[1] The ἀναστροφή involved two movements, (1) a facing about, followed by a march to the rear, and (2) a turning of the line until it stood behind the adjacent troops, thus doubling the depth of the phalanx. In this case the enemy's

and javelins upon the Lacedaemonians; meanwhile others sallied out by the other gates and in mass formation attacked those who were at the extreme end of the line. These latter, who were drawn up only eight deep, thinking that the outer end of the phalanx was too weak, undertook to swing it around upon itself.[1] But as soon as they began the backward movement, the enemy fell upon them, in the belief that they were in flight, and they did not go on and swing forward; furthermore, those who were next to them also began to flee. As for Mnasippus, while he was unable to aid the troops which were hard pressed, because the enemy was attacking him in front, he was left with an ever smaller number of men. Finally, all of the enemy massed themselves together and charged upon Mnasippus and his troops, which were by this time very few. And the citizens, seeing what was going on, came out to join in the attack. Then after they had killed Mnasippus, all straightway joined in the pursuit. And they probably would have captured the very camp, along with its stockade, had not the pursuers turned back upon seeing the crowd of camp-followers, of attendants, and of slaves, imagining that there was some fighting ability in them. At this time, accordingly, the Corcyraeans set up a trophy and gave back the bodies of the dead under a truce. And after this the people in the city were stouter of heart, while those outside were in the utmost despondency. For there was not only a report that Iphicrates was already practically at hand, but the Corcyraeans were in fact also manning ships. Then 373 B.C.

attack prevented the accomplishment of the second movement.

χανεν ἐπιστολιαφόρος τῷ Μνασίππῳ ὤν, τό τε ναυτικὸν πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ἐκεῖ συνεπλήρωσε, καὶ περιπλεύσας πρὸς τὸ χαράκωμα τὰ πλοῖα πάντα γεμίσας τῶν τε ἀνδραπόδων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπέστελλεν· αὐτὸς δὲ σύν τε τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καὶ τοῖς περισωθεῖσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν διεφύλαττε τὸ
26 χαράκωμα· τέλος δὲ καὶ οὗτοι μάλα τεταραγμένοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις ἀπέπλεον, πολὺν μὲν σῖτον, πολὺν δὲ οἶνον, πολλὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἀσθενοῦντας στρατιώτας καταλιπόντες· δεινῶς γὰρ ἐπεφόβηντο μὴ καταληφθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εἰς Λευκάδα ἀπεσώθησαν.

27 Ὁ δὲ Ἰφικράτης ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο τοῦ περίπλου, ἅμα μὲν ἔπλει, ἅμα δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευάζετο· εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν πλέων· καὶ τοῖς ἀκατείοις δέ, καὶ εἰ φορὸν πνεῦμα εἴη, ὀλίγα ἐχρῆτο· τῇ δὲ κώπῃ τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος ἀμείνόν τε τὰ σώματα ἔχειν τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἄμεινον
28 τὰς ναῦς πλεῖν ἐποίει. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὅπῃ μέλλοι ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τὸ στράτευμα ἢ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, ἐπανήγαγεν ἂν τὸ κέρας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπιστρέψας αὖ καὶ ἀντιπρῴρους καταστήσας τὰς τριήρεις ἀπὸ σημείου ἀφίει ἀνθαμιλλᾶσθαι εἰς τὴν γῆν, μέγα δὴ νικητήριον ἦν τὸ πρώτους καὶ ὕδωρ λαβεῖν καὶ εἴ του ἄλλου ἐδέοντο, καὶ πρώτους ἀριστῆσαι. τοῖς δ' ὑστάτοις ἀφικομένοις μεγάλη ζημία ἦν τό

Hypermenes, who chanced to be vice-admiral under Mnasippus, manned fully the entire fleet which he had there, and after sailing round to the stockade and filling all his transports with the slaves and the captured property, sent them off; he himself, however, with his marines and such of the soldiers as had been left alive, kept guard over the stockade; but finally they, too, embarked upon the triremes in great confusion and went sailing off, leaving behind them a great deal of corn, much wine, and many slaves and sick soldiers; for they were exceedingly afraid that they would be caught on the island by the Athenians. And so they reached Leucas in safety. 373 B.C.

As for Iphicrates, when he began his voyage around Peloponnesus he went on with all needful preparations for a naval battle as he sailed; for at the outset he had left his large sails behind him at Athens, since he expected to fight, and now, further, he made but slight use of his smaller sails, even if the wind was favourable; by making his voyage, then, with the oar, he kept his men in better condition of body and caused the ships to go faster. Furthermore, whenever the expedition was going to take the noonday or the evening meal at any particular spot, he would often draw back the head of the column from the shore opposite the place in question; then he would turn the line around again, cause the triremes to head toward the land, and start them off at a signal to race to the shore. It was counted a great prize of victory to be the first to get water or anything else they needed, and the first to get their meal. On the other hand, those who reached the shore last incurred a great penalty in

τε ἐλαττοῦσθαι πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ ὅτι ἀνάγεσθαι ἅμα ἔδει, ἐπεὶ σημήνειε· συνέβαινε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις ἀφικνουμένοις καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἅπαντα
29 ποιεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τελευταίοις διὰ σπουδῆς. φυλακάς γε μήν, εἰ τύχοι ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ἀριστοποιούμενος, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὥσπερ προσήκει, καθίστη, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν αἰρόμενος αὖ τοὺς ἱστοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐσκοπεῖτο. πολὺ οὖν ἐπὶ πλέον οὗτοι καθεώρων ἢ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ, ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου καθορῶντες.[1] ὅπου δὲ δειπνοποιοῖτο καὶ καθεύδοι, ἐν μὲν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νύκτωρ πῦρ οὐκ ἔκαε, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος φῶς ἐποίει, ἵνα μηδεὶς λάθῃ προσιών. πολλάκις δέ, εἰ εὐδία εἴη, εὐθὺς δειπνήσας ἀνήγετο· καὶ εἰ μὲν αὔρα φέροι, θέοντες ἅμα ἀνεπαύοντο· εἰ δὲ ἐλαύνειν δέοι, κατὰ μέρος
30 τοὺς ναύτας ἀνέπαυεν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμέραν πλοῖς ἀπὸ σημείων τοτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ κέρως ἦγε, τοτὲ δ' ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· ὥστε ἅμα μὲν ἔπλεον, ἅμα δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ ἠσκηκότες καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς ᾤοντο, κατεχομένην θάλατταν ἀφικνοῦντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ ἠρίστων καὶ ἐδείπνουν· διὰ δὲ τὸ τἀναγκαῖα μόνον πράττειν καὶ τὰς βοηθείας ἔφθανεν ἀναγόμενος καὶ ταχὺ ἐπέραινε.

31 Περὶ δὲ τὸν Μνασίππου θάνατον ἐτύγχανεν ὢν τῆς Λακωνικῆς περὶ τὰς Σφαγίας. εἰς τὴν Ἠλείαν

[1] ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου καθορῶντες MSS.: Kel. brackets, following Hartman.

that they came off worse in all these points, and in 373 B.C. the fact that they had to put to sea again at the same time as the rest when the signal was given; for the result was that those who came in first did everything at their leisure, while those who came in last had to hurry. Again, in setting watches, if he chanced to be taking the midday meal in a hostile country, he posted some on the land, as is proper, but besides he hoisted the masts on the ships and had men keep watch from their tops. These men, therefore, could see much farther, from their higher point of view, than those on the level. Further, wherever he dined or slept, he would not have a fire inside the camp during the night, but kept a light burning in front of his forces, so that no one could approach unobserved. Frequently, however, if it was good weather, he would put to sea again immediately after dining; and if there was a favourable breeze, they sailed and rested at the same time, while if it was necessary to row, he rested the sailors by turns. Again, when he sailed by day, he would lead the fleet, by signals, at one time in column and at another in line of battle; so that, while still pursuing their voyage, they had at the same time practised and become skilled in all the manoeuvres of battle before they reached the sea which, as they supposed, was held by the enemy. And although for the most part they took both their noonday and their evening meals in the enemy's country, nevertheless, by doing only the necessary things, he always got to sea before the enemy's forces arrived to repel him and speedily got under way again.

At the time of Mnasippus' death Iphicrates chanced to be near the Sphagiae[1] in Laconia. Then,

[1] Islands situated off Pylos.

δὲ ἀφικόμενος καὶ παραπλεύσας τὸ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα ὑπὸ τὸν Ἰχθὺν καλούμενον ὡρμίσατο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐντεῦθεν ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας, οὕτω καὶ τεταγμένος καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος ὡς, εἰ δέοι, πάντα ὅσα χρὴ παρεσκευασμένος ναυμαχοίη. καὶ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Μνασίππου αὐτόπτου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἠκηκόει, ὑπώπτευε δὲ μὴ ἀπάτης ἕνεκα λέγοιτο, καὶ ἐφυλάττετο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ σαφῶς ἐπύθετο, καὶ ἀνέπαυε τὸ στράτευμα.

32 Οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα, ὅταν οἴωνται ναυμαχήσειν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἀσκεῖται καὶ μελετᾶται· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ, ὅτι ἐπεὶ ἀφικέσθαι ταχὺ ἔδει ἔνθα τοῖς πολεμίοις ναυμαχήσειν ᾤετο, ηὕρετο ὅπως μήτε διὰ τὸν πλοῦν ἀνεπιστήμονας εἶναι τῶν εἰς ναυμαχίαν μήτε διὰ τὸ ταῦτα μελετᾶν βραδύτερόν τι ἀφικέσθαι.

33 Καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κεφαλληνίᾳ πόλεις ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κέρκυραν. ἐκεῖ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκούσας ὅτι προσπλέοιεν δέκα τριήρεις παρὰ Διονυσίου, βοηθήσουσαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν καὶ σκεψάμενος τῆς χώρας ὅθεν τούς τε προσπλέοντας δυνατὸν ἦν ὁρᾶν καὶ τοὺς σημαίνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταφανεῖς εἶναι,
34 ἐνταῦθα κατέστησε τοὺς σκοπούς. κἀκείνοις μὲν συνέθετο προσπλεόντων τε καὶ ὁρμούντων ὡς δέοι σημαίνειν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν τριηράρχων

after reaching Elis and sailing past the mouth of the Alpheus, he anchored beneath the promontory called Ichthys. From there he put to sea on the following day for Cephallenia, having his fleet in such order and making the voyage in such a way that, if it should be necessary to fight, he should be ready in all essential respects to do so. For he had not heard the news of Mnasippus' death from any eye-witness, but suspected that it was told to deceive him, and hence was on his guard; when he arrived at Cephallenia, however, he there got definite information, and so rested his forces. 373 B.C.

Now I am aware that all these matters of practice and training are customary whenever men expect to engage in a battle by sea, but that which I commend in Iphicrates is this, that when it was incumbent upon him to arrive speedily at the place where he supposed he should fight with the enemy, he discovered a way to keep his men from being either, by reason of the voyage they had made, unskilled in the tactics of fighting at sea, or, by reason of their having been trained in such tactics, any the more tardy in arriving at their destination.

After subduing the cities in Cephallenia he sailed to Corcyra. There, upon hearing that ten triremes were sailing thither from Dionysius to aid the Lacedaemonians, he first went in person and looked over the ground to find a point from which any who approached the island could be seen and the men stationed there to send signals to the city would be visible; he then stationed his watchers at that point. He also agreed with them as to how they were to signal when the enemy were approaching and when they were at anchor. Then he gave his orders to

προσέταξεν εἴκοσιν, οὓς δεήσοι, ἐπει κηρύξειεν,
ἀκολουθεῖν· εἰ δέ τις μὴ ἀκολουθήσοι, προεῖπε
μὴ μέμψεσθαι τὴν δίκην. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσημάνθησαν
προσπλέουσαι καὶ ἐκηρύχθη, ἀξία ἐγένετο θέας
ἡ σπουδή· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὅστις οὐ δρόμῳ τῶν μελ-
35 λόντων πλεῖν εἰσέβη εἰς τὰς ναῦς. πλεύσας δὲ
ἔνθα ἦσαν αἱ πολέμιαι τριήρεις, καταλαμβάνει
ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τριήρων εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς
ἄνδρας ἐκβεβηκότας, Μελάνιππος μέντοι ὁ Ῥό-
διος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις συνεβούλευε μὴ μένειν ἐνταῦθα
καὶ αὐτὸς πληρωσάμενος τὴν ναῦν ἐξέπλει. ἐκεῖ-
νος μὲν οὖν καίπερ ἀπαντῶν ταῖς Ἰφικράτους
ναυσὶν ὅμως ἀπέφυγεν· αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν
36 νῆες ἅπασαι ἑάλωσαν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ὁ μέντοι
Ἰφικράτης τὰς μὲν τριήρεις ἀκρωτηριασάμενος
ἕλκων κατηγάγετο εἰς τὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων
λιμένα, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν συνέβη ἕκαστον τακτὸν
ἀργύριον ἀποτεῖσαι, πλὴν Κρινίππου τοῦ ἄρ-
χοντος· τοῦτον δ' ἐφύλαττεν, ὡς ἢ πραξόμενος
πάμπολλα χρήματα ἢ ὡς πωλήσων. κἀκεῖνος
μὲν ὑπὸ λύπης αὐθαιρέτῳ θανάτῳ ἀποθνῄσκει,
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἀφῆκε, Κερκυραίους
37 ἐγγυητὰς δεξάμενος τῶν χρημάτων. καὶ τοὺς
μὲν ναύτας γεωργοῦντας τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τὸ
πλεῖστον διέτρεφε, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς
ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὁπλίτας ἔχων διέβαινεν εἰς τὴν
Ἀκαρνανίαν· καὶ ἐκεῖ ταῖς μὲν φιλίαις πόλεσιν
ἐπεκούρει, εἴ τίς τι δέοιτο, Θυριεῦσι δέ, μάλα
καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀλκίμοις καὶ χωρίον καρτερὸν

twenty of the captains, whose duty it should be to follow him when the herald gave the word; and in case anyone failed to follow, he warned him that he would not have occasion to find fault with his punishment. Now when the signal came that the triremes were approaching, and when the word was given by the herald, the ardour of all was a sight worth seeing; for there was no one among those who were to sail who did not run to get aboard his ship. When Iphicrates had reached the place where the enemy's triremes were, he found the crews of all save one already disembarked on the shore, but Melanippus, the Rhodian, had not only advised the others not to remain there, but had manned his own ship and was sailing out to sea. Now although he met the ships of Iphicrates, he nevertheless escaped, but all the ships from Syracuse were captured, along with their crews. Thereupon Iphicrates cut off the beaks and towed the triremes into the harbour of Corcyra; as for the crews, he concluded an agreement that each man should pay a fixed ransom, with the exception of Crinippus the commander, whom he kept under guard, intending either to exact a very large ransom or to sell him. Crinippus, however, was so mortified that he died by a self-inflicted death, and Iphicrates let the rest go, accepting Corcyraeans as sureties for the ransoms. Now he maintained his sailors for the most part by having them work for the Corcyraeans on their lands; the peltasts, however, and the hoplites from his ships he took with him and crossed over to Acarnania. There he gave aid to the cities which were friendly, in case any of them needed aid, and made war upon the Thyrians, who were very valiant men and were in

373 B.C.

38 ἔχουσιν, ἐπολέμει. καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Κερκύρας ναυτικὸν προσλαβών, σχεδὸν περὶ ἐνενήκοντα ναῦς, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν πλεύσας χρήματα ἐπράξατο, τὰ μὲν παρ' ἑκόντων, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἀκόντων· ἔπειτα δὲ παρεσκευάζετο τήν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνα πόλεων πολεμίων οὐσῶν τὰς μὲν ἐθελούσας προσλαμβάνειν, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις πολεμεῖν.

39 Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν τῶν Ἰφικράτους οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπαινῶ, ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ προσελέσθαι κελεῦσαι ἑαυτῷ Καλλίστρατόν τε τὸν δημηγόρον, οὐ μάλα ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα, καὶ Χαβρίαν, μάλα στρατηγὸν νομιζόμενον. εἴτε γὰρ φρονίμους αὐτοὺς ἡγούμενος εἶναι συμβούλους λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο, σῶφρόν μοι δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, εἴτε ἀντιπάλους νομίζων, οὕτω θρασέως[1] μήτε καταρᾳθυμῶν μήτε καταμελῶν μηδὲν φαίνεσθαι, μέγα φρονοῦντος ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι. κἀκεῖνος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν.

III. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκπεπτωκότας μὲν ὁρῶντες ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας Πλαταιᾶς φίλους ὄντας, καὶ καταπεφευγότας πρὸς αὐτούς, ἱκετεύοντας δὲ Θεσπιᾶς μὴ σφᾶς περιιδεῖν ἀπόλιδας γενομένους, οὐκέτι ἐπῄνουν τοὺς Θηβαίους, ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖν

[1] θρασέως: Kel. inserts after it ἔπραττεν ὡς.

possession of a very strong fortress. Furthermore, he took over the fleet which was at Corcyra, and with almost ninety[1] ships first sailed to Cephallenia and collected money, in some cases with the consent of the people, in other cases against their will. Then he made preparations to inflict damage upon the territory of the Lacedaemonians, and to bring over to his side such of the other hostile states in that region as were willing and to make war upon such as would not yield. 372 B.C.

Now for my part I not only commend this campaign in particular among all the campaigns of Iphicrates, but I commend, further, his directing the Athenians to choose as his colleagues Callistratus, the popular orator, who was not very favourably inclined toward him, and Chabrias, who was regarded as a very good general. For if he thought them to be able men and hence wished to take them as advisers, he seems to me to have done a wise thing, while on the other hand if he believed them to be his adversaries and wished in so bold a way to prove that he was neither remiss nor neglectful in any point, this seems to me to be the act of a man possessed of great confidence in himself. He, then, was occupied with these things.

III. Meanwhile the Athenians, seeing that the Plataeans, who were their friends, had been expelled from Boeotia and had fled to them for refuge, and that the Thespians were beseeching them not to allow them to be left without a city, no longer commended the Thebans, but, on the contrary, 371 B.C.

[1] The fleet of the Corcyraeans (*cp.* § 24 above) having been added to Iphicrates' original seventy (§ 14) ships. The text, however, appears to be faulty.

μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ᾐσχύνοντο, τὰ δὲ ἀσυμφόρως ἔχειν ἐλογίζοντο· κοινωνεῖν γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ὧν ἔπραττον οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἐπεὶ ἑώρων στρατεύοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ φίλους ἀρχαίους τῇ πόλει Φωκέας, καὶ πόλεις πιστάς τ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον
2 πολέμῳ καὶ φίλας ἑαυτοῖς ἀφανίζοντας. ἐκ τούτων δὲ ψηφισάμενος ὁ δῆμος εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θήβας πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε παρακαλοῦντας ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ βούλοιντο, εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρέσβεις. ἦν δὲ τῶν αἱρεθέντων Καλλίας Ἱππονίκου, Αὐτοκλῆς Στρομβιχίδου, Δημόστρατος Ἀριστοφῶντος, Ἀριστοκλῆς, Κηφισόδοτος, Μελάνω-
3 πος, Λύκαιθος.[1] καὶ[2] Καλλίστρατος δὲ ὁ δημηγόρος παρῆν· ὑποσχόμενος γὰρ Ἰφικράτει, εἰ αὐτὸν ἀφείη, ἢ χρήματα πέμψειν τῷ ναυτικῷ ἢ εἰρήνην ποιήσειν, οὕτως Ἀθήνησί τε ἦν καὶ ἔπραττε περὶ εἰρήνης· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, πρῶτος ἔλεξεν αὐτῶν Καλλίας ὁ δᾳδοῦχος. ἦν δ' οὗτος οἷος μηδὲν ἧττον ἥδεσθαι ὑφ' αὑτοῦ ἢ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπαινούμενος· καὶ τότε δὴ ἤρξατο ὧδέ πως.
4 Ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὴν μὲν προξενίαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐγὼ ἔχω[3] μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρὸς

[1] After Λύκαιθος the MSS. proceed: ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. These words are dropped by Kel. and almost all editors, after Cobet. [2] Inserted by Kel., following Köppen.
[3] Inserted by Kel., following Fritzsche.

while they were partly ashamed to make war upon them and partly reckoned it to be inexpedient, they nevertheless refused any longer to take part with them in what they were doing, inasmuch as they saw that they were campaigning against the Phocians, who were old friends of the Athenians, and were annihilating cities which had been faithful in the war against the barbarian[1] and were friendly to Athens. For these reasons the Athenian people voted to make peace, and in the first place sent ambassadors to Thebes to invite the Thebans to go with them to Lacedaemon to treat for peace if they so desired; then they sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon themselves. Among those who were chosen were Callias, the son of Hipponicus; Autocles, the son of Strombichides; Demostratus, the son of Aristophon; Aristocles, Cephisodotus, Melanopus, and Lycaethus. Callistratus, the popular orator, also went with the embassy; for he had promised Iphicrates that if he would let him go home, he would either send money for the fleet or bring about peace, and consequently he had been at Athens and engaged in efforts to secure peace; and when the ambassadors came before the assembly of the Lacedaemonians and the representatives of their allies, the first of them who spoke was Callias, the torch-bearer.[2] He was the sort of man to enjoy no less being praised by himself than by others, and on this occasion he began in about the following words: 371 B.C.

"Men of Lacedaemon, as regards the position I hold as your diplomatic agent, I am not the only member of our family who has held it, but my

[1] The Plataeans and Thespians had, in fact, won especial distinction in the Persian wars.

[2] Of the Eleusinian mysteries. *cp.* II. iv. 20.

πατὴρ πατρῴαν ἔχων παρεδίδου τῷ γένει· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι, ὡς ἔχουσα ἡ πόλις διατελεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκείνη γάρ, ὅταν μὲν πόλεμος ᾖ, στρατηγοὺς ἡμᾶς αἱρεῖται, ὅταν δὲ ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσῃ, εἰρηνοποιοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐκπέμπει. κἀγὼ πρόσθεν δὶς ἤδη ἦλθον περὶ πολέμου καταλύσεως, καὶ ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πρεσβείαις διεπραξάμην καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν εἰρήνην· νῦν δὲ τρίτον ἥκω, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι πολὺ δικαιότατα νῦν ἂν
5 διαλλαγῆς τυχεῖν. ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλα μὲν ὑμῖν,
ἄλλα δὲ ἡμῖν δοκοῦντα, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς τε ἀχθομένους καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ Πλαταιῶν τε καὶ Θεσπιῶν ἀναιρέσει. πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκὸς τὰ αὐτὰ γιγνώσκοντας φίλους μᾶλλον ἀλλήλοις ἢ πολεμίους εἶναι; καὶ σωφρόνων μὲν δήπου ἐστὶ μηδὲ εἰ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα εἴη πόλεμον ἀναιρεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁμογνωμονοῖμεν,[1] οὐκ ἂν πάνυ τῶν θαυμαστῶν εἴη μὴ
6 εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι; δίκαιον μὲν οὖν ἦν μηδὲ ὅπλα
ἐπιφέρειν ἀλλήλοις ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ λέγεται μὲν Τριπτόλεμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἄρρητα ἱερὰ πρώτοις ξένοις δεῖξαι Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῃ καὶ Διοσκούροιν τοῖν ὑμετέροιν πολίταιν, καὶ τοῦ Δήμητρος δὲ καρποῦ εἰς πρώτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον σπέρμα

[1] ὁμογνωμονοῖμεν MSS.: ὁμογνωμονοῖεν Kel.

[1] Triptolemus of Eleusis had, according to the legend, carried from Attica throughout Greece both the cult of

father's father received it from his father and handed it on to his descendants; and I also wish to make clear to you how highly esteemed we have been by our own state. For whenever there is war she chooses us as generals, and whenever she becomes desirous of tranquillity she sends us out as peace-makers. I, for example, have twice before now come here to treat for a termination of war, and on both these embassies I succeeded in achieving peace both for you and for ourselves; now for a third time I am come, and it is now, I believe, that with greater justice than ever before I should obtain a reconciliation between us. For I see that you do not think one way and we another, but that you as well as we are distressed over the destruction of Plataea and Thespiae. How, then, is it not fitting that men who hold the same views should be friends of one another rather than enemies? Again, it is certainly the part of wise men not to undertake war even if they should have differences, if they be slight; but if, in fact, we should actually find ourselves in complete agreement, should we not be astounding fools not to make peace? The right course, indeed, would have been for us not to take up arms against one another in the beginning, since the tradition is that the first strangers to whom Triptolemus,[1] our ancestor, revealed the mystic rites of Demeter and Core were Heracles, your state's founder, and the Dioscuri, your citizens; and, further, that it was upon Peloponnesus that he first bestowed the seed 371 B.C.

Demeter and the knowledge of her art—agriculture. Heracles was the traditional ancestor of the Spartan kings (*cp.* III. iii. 3), while the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, were putative sons of Tyndareus of Sparta.

δωρήσασθαι. πῶς οὖν δίκαιον ἢ ὑμᾶς, παρ' ὧν ἐλάβετε σπέρματα, τὸν τούτων ποτὲ καρπὸν ἐλθεῖν δῃώσοντας, ἡμᾶς τε, οἷς ἐδώκαμεν, μὴ οὐχὶ βούλεσθαι ὡς πλείστην τούτοις ἀφθονίαν τροφῆς γενέσθαι; εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐκ θεῶν πεπρωμένον ἐστὶ πολέμους ἐν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ[1] χρὴ ἄρχεσθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς σχολαίτατα, ὅταν δὲ γένηται, καταλύεσθαι ᾗ δυνατὸν τάχιστα.

7 Μετὰ τοῦτον Αὐτοκλῆς, μάλα δοκῶν ἐπιστρεφὴς εἶναι ῥήτωρ, ὧδε ἠγόρευεν· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὅτι μὲν ἃ μέλλω λέγειν οὐ πρὸς χάριν ὑμῖν ῥηθήσεται οὐκ ἀγνοῶ· ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μοι, οἵτινες βούλονται, ἣν ἂν ποιήσωνται φιλίαν, ταύτην ὡς πλεῖστον χρόνον διαμένειν, διδακτέον εἶναι ἀλλήλους τὰ αἴτια τῶν πολέμων. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ μέν φατε· Αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις χρὴ εἶναι, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐστὲ μάλιστα ἐμποδὼν τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ. συντίθεσθε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις τοῦτο πρῶτον, ἀκολουθεῖν ὅποι ἂν ὑμεῖς ἡγῆσθε.
8 καίτοι τί τοῦτο αὐτονομίᾳ προσήκει; ποιεῖσθε δὲ πολεμίους οὐκ ἀνακοινούμενοι τοῖς συμμάχοις, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἡγεῖσθε· ὥστε πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐμενεστάτους ἀναγκάζονται στρατεύειν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτόνομοι εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ τὸ πάντων ἐναντιώτατον αὐτονομίᾳ, καθίστατε ἔνθα μὲν δεκαρχίας, ἔνθα δὲ τριακονταρχίας· καὶ τούτων τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπιμελεῖσθε οὐχ ὅπως νομίμως ἄρχωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως δύνωνται βίᾳ κατέχειν τὰς πόλεις.

[1] δὲ MSS.: δὴ Kel.

of Demeter's fruit. How, then, can it be right, either that you should ever come to destroy the fruit of those very men from whom you received the seed, or that we should not desire those very men, to whom we gave the seed, to obtain the greatest possible abundance of food? But if it is indeed ordered of the gods that wars should come among men, then we ought to begin war as tardily as we can, and, when it has come, to bring it to an end as speedily as possible." 371 B.C.

After him Autocles, who had the reputation of being a very incisive orator, spoke as follows: "Men of Lacedaemon, that what I am about to say will not be said to your pleasure, I am not unaware; but it seems to me that men who desire the friendship which they may establish to endure for the longest possible time, ought to point out to one another the causes of their wars. Now you always say, 'The cities must be independent,' but you are yourselves the greatest obstacle in the way of their independence. For the first stipulation you make with your allied cities is this, that they follow wherever you may lead. And yet how is this consistent with independence? And you make for yourselves enemies without taking counsel with your allies, and against those enemies you lead them; so that frequently they who are said to be independent are compelled to take the field against men most friendly to themselves. Furthermore—and there can be nothing in the world more opposed to independence—you establish governments of ten here and governments of thirty there; and in the case of these rulers your care is, not that they shall rule according to law, but that they shall be able to hold possession of their cities by force. So that

ὥστ' ἐοίκατε τυραννίσι μᾶλλον ἢ πολιτείαις
9 ἡδόμενοι. καὶ ὅτε μὲν βασιλεὺς προσέταττεν αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι, μάλα γιγνώσκοντες ἐφαίνεσθε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἐάσοιεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἑκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἄρχειν τε ἑαυτῆς καὶ οἷς ἂν βούληται νόμοις χρῆσθαι, οὐ ποιήσουσι κατὰ τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελάβετε τὴν Καδμείαν, οὐδ' αὐτοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπετρέπετε αὐτονόμους εἶναι. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μέλλοντας φίλους ἔσεσθαι οὐ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ἀξιοῦν τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ὅπως ἂν πλεῖστα δύνωνται πλεονεκτοῦντας φαίνεσθαι.

10 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν σιωπὴν μὲν παρὰ πάντων ἐποίησεν, ἡδομένους δὲ τοὺς ἀχθομένους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐποίησε. μετὰ τοῦτον Καλλίστρατος ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλ' ὅπως μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐκ ἐγγεγένηται ἁμαρτήματα καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ εἰπεῖν· οὐ μέντοι οὕτω γιγνώσκω ὡς τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν οὐδέποτε ἔτι χρηστέον. ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ἀναμάρτητον διατελοῦντα. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ εὐπορώτεροι ἐνίοτε γίγνεσθαι ἄνθρωποι ἁμαρτάνοντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐὰν κολασθῶσιν ὑπὸ
11 τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ὡς ἡμεῖς. καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ ἔγωγε ὁρῶ διὰ τὰ ἀγνωμόνως πραχθέντα ἔστιν ὅτε πολλὰ ἀντίτυπα γιγνόμενα· ὧν ἦν καὶ ἡ καταληφθεῖσα ἐν Θήβαις Καδμεία· νῦν γοῦν, ἃς ἐσπουδάσατε αὐτονόμους πόλεις[1] γενέσθαι, πᾶσαι πάλιν, ἐπεὶ ἠδικήθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ἐπ'

[1] ἃς . . . πόλεις Breitenbach: ὡς . . . τὰς πόλεις MSS.: οἷς . . . τὰς πόλεις Kel.

you manifestly take pleasure in despotisms rather than in free governments. Again, when the King directed that the cities be independent, you showed yourselves strongly of the opinion that if the Thebans did not allow each one of their cities, not only to rule itself, but also to live under whatever laws it chose, they would not be acting in accordance with the King's writing; but when you had seized the Cadmea, you did not permit even the Thebans themselves to be independent. The right thing, however, is that those who are going to be friends should not insist upon obtaining their full rights from others, and then show themselves disposed to grasp the most they can." 371 B.C.

By these words he caused silence on the part of all, while at the same time he gave pleasure to those who were angry with the Lacedaemonians. After him Callistratus said: "Men of Lacedaemon, that mistakes have not been made, both on our side and on yours, I for one do not think I could assert; but I do not hold to the opinion that one ought never again to have any dealings with people who make mistakes. For I see that no one in the world remains always free from error. And it seems to me that through making mistakes men sometimes become even easier to deal with, especially if they have incurred punishment in consequence of their mistakes, as we have. In your own case, also, I see that sometimes many reverses result from the things you have done with too little judgment, among which was, in fact, the seizure of the Cadmea in Thebes; now, at any rate, the cities which you were eager to make independent have all, in consequence of the wrong done to the Thebans, fallen again under their

ἐκείνοις γεγένηνται. ὥστε πεπαιδευμένους ἡμᾶς ὡς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀκερδές ἐστι νῦν ἐλπίζω πάλιν
12 μετρίους ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίᾳ ἔσεσθαι. ἃ δὲ βουλόμενοί τινες ἀποτρέπειν τὴν εἰρήνην διαβάλλουσιν, ὡς ἡμεῖς οὐ φιλίας δεόμενοι, ἀλλὰ φοβούμενοι μὴ Ἀνταλκίδας ἔλθῃ ἔχων παρὰ βασιλέως χρήματα, διὰ τοῦθ' ἥκομεν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὡς φλυαροῦσι. βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ δήπου ἔγραψε πάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναι· ἡμεῖς δὲ ταὐτὰ ἐκείνῳ λέγοντές τε καὶ πράττοντες τί ἂν φοβοίμεθα βασιλέα; ἢ τοῦτο οἴεταί τις, ὡς ἐκεῖνος βούλεται χρήματα ἀναλώσας ἄλλους μεγάλους ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνευ δαπάνης ἃ ἔγνω ἄριστα εἶναι, ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ πεπρᾶχθαι;

13 Εἶεν. τί μὴν ἥκομεν; ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀποροῦντες γνοίητε ἄν, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν ἰδόντες, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ γῆν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. τί μήν ἐστιν; εὔδηλον ὅτι τῶν συμμάχων τινὲς οὐκ ἀρεστὰ πράττουσιν ἡμῖν.[1] ἴσως δὲ καὶ βουλοίμεθ' ἂν ὧν ἕνεκα περιεσώσατε ἡμᾶς ἃ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωμεν[2] ὑμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι.
14 ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῦ συμφόρου ἔτι ἐπιμνησθῶ, εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πασῶν τῶν πόλεων αἱ μὲν τὰ ὑμέτερα, αἱ δὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσαι, καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει οἱ μὲν λακωνίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀττικίζουσιν. εἰ οὖν

[1] εὔδηλον ὅτι . . . ἡμῖν Kurz: εὔδηλον ὅτι εἰ . . . ἡμῖν ἢ ὑμῖν ἀρεστά MSS , which Kel. retains, while marking the passage as corrupt.

[2] ἃ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωμεν MSS.: ὡς ὀρθῶς ἔγνωτε Kel.

power. Hence I hope that now, when we have been taught that to seek selfish advantage is unprofitable, we shall again be reasonable in our friendship with each other. Now touching the slanderous allegations of certain people who wish to defeat the peace, to the effect that we have come here, not because we desire friendship, but rather because we fear that Antalcidas may arrive with money from the King, consider how foolishly they are talking. For the King directed, as you know, that all the cities in Greece were to be independent; why then should we, who agree with the King in both word and deed, be afraid of him? Or does anyone imagine that the King prefers to spend money and make others great, rather than, without expense, to have those things accomplished for him which he judged to be best? 371 B.C.

"So much for that. Why, then, have we come? That it surely is not because we are in straits, you could discover, if you please, by looking at the situation by sea or, if you please, at the situation by land at the present time. What, then, is the reason? Manifestly that some of our allies are doing what is not pleasing to us. And perhaps we also should like to show you the gratitude we rightly conceived toward you because you preserved us.[1] Furthermore, to mention also the matter of expediency, there are, of course, among all the cities of Greece, some that take your side and others that take ours, and in each single city some people favour the Lacedaemonians and others the Athenians. If, therefore,

[1] At the close of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedaemonians rejected the proposal urged by many of their allies, that Athens should be destroyed. *cp.* II. ii. 19, 20.

ἡμεῖς φίλοι γενοίμεθα, πόθεν ἂν εἰκότως χαλεπόν
τι προσδοκήσαιμεν; καὶ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ γῆν μὲν τίς
ἂν ὑμῶν φίλων ὄντων ἱκανὸς γένοιτο ἡμᾶς λυπῆ-
σαι; κατὰ θάλαττάν γε μὴν τίς ἂν ὑμᾶς βλάψαι
15 τι ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἐπιτηδείων ὄντων; ἀλλὰ μέντοι ὅτι
μὲν πόλεμοι ἀεί ποτε γίγνονται καὶ ὅτι καταλύ-
ονται πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ ὅτι ἡμεῖς, ἂν μὴ
νῦν, ἀλλ' αὖθίς ποτε εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσομεν. τί
οὖν δεῖ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἀναμένειν, ἕως ἂν ὑπὸ
πλήθους κακῶν ἀπείπωμεν, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ὡς
τάχιστα πρίν τι ἀνήκεστον γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην
16 ποιήσασθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἔγωγε ἐπαινῶ
οἵτινες ἀγωνισταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ νενικηκότες ἤδη
πολλάκις καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντες οὕτω φιλονικοῦσιν
ὥστε οὐ πρότερον παύονται, πρὶν ἂν ἡττηθέντες
τὴν ἄσκησιν καταλύσωσιν, οὐδέ γε τῶν κυβευτῶν
οἵτινες αὖ ἐὰν ἕν τι ἐπιτύχωσι, περὶ διπλασίων
κυβεύουσιν· ὁρῶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τοὺς
17 πλείους ἀπόρους παντάπασι γιγνομένους. ἃ χρὴ
καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντας εἰς μὲν τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα μηδέ-
ποτε καταστῆναι, ὥστ' ἢ πάντα λαβεῖν ἢ πάντ'
ἀποβαλεῖν, ἕως δὲ καὶ ἐρρώμεθα καὶ εὐτυχοῦμεν,
φίλους ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμεῖς τ'
ἂν δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑμεῖς δι' ἡμᾶς ἔτι μείζους ἢ τὸν
παρελθόντα χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀναστρεφοί-
μεθα.
18 Δοξάντων δὲ τούτων καλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἐψηφίσαντο
καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ
τούς τε ἁρμοστὰς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξάγειν, τά τε
στρατόπεδα διαλύειν καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ τὰ πε-
ζικά, τάς τε πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἐᾶν. εἰ δέ τις
παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοίη, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον βοηθεῖν

we should become friends, from what quarter could 371 B.C. we with reason expect any trouble? For who could prove strong enough to vex us by land if you were our friends? And who could do you any harm by sea if we were favourably inclined toward you? Moreover, we all know that wars are forever breaking out and being concluded, and that we—if not now, still at some future time—shall desire peace again. Why, then, should we wait for the time when we shall have become exhausted by a multitude of ills, and not rather conclude peace as quickly as possible before anything irremediable happens? Again, I for my part do not commend those men who, when they have become competitors in the games and have already been victorious many times and enjoy fame, are so fond of contest that they do not stop until they are defeated and so end their athletic training; nor on the other hand do I commend those dicers who, if they win one success, throw for double stakes, for I see that the majority of such people become utterly impoverished. We, then, seeing these things, ought never to engage in a contest of such a sort that we shall either win all or lose all, but ought rather to become friends of one another while we are still strong and successful. For thus we through you, and you through us, could play even a greater part in Greece than in times gone by."

Since these men were adjudged to have spoken rightly, the Lacedaemonians voted to accept the peace, with the provision that all should withdraw their governors from the cities, disband their armaments both on sea and on land, and leave the cities independent. And if any state should act in violation of this agreement, it was provided that any which so

ταῖς ἀδικουμέναις πόλεσι, τῷ δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ μὴ εἶναι ἔνορκον συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις.
19 ἐπὶ τούτοις ὤμοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι. ἀπογραψάμενοι δ' ἐν ταῖς ὀμωμοκυίαις πόλεσι καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, προσελθόντες πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἐκέλευον μεταγράφειν ἀντὶ Θηβαίων Βοιωτοὺς ὀμωμοκότας. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι μεταγράψει μὲν οὐδὲν ὧν τὸ πρῶτον ὤμοσάν τε καὶ ἀπεγράψαντο· εἰ μέντοι μὴ βούλοιντο ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς εἶναι, ἐξαλείφειν ἂν ἔφη, εἰ κελεύοιεν.
20 οὕτω δὴ εἰρήνην τῶν ἄλλων πεποιημένων, πρὸς δὲ Θηβαίους μόνους ἀντιλογίας οὔσης, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι οὕτως εἶχον τὴν γνώμην ὡς νῦν Θηβαίους τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ δεκατευθῆναι ἐλπὶς εἴη, αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι παντελῶς ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ἀπῆλθον.

IV. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τάς τε φρουρὰς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀπῆγον καὶ Ἰφικράτην καὶ τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμποντο, καὶ ὅσα ὕστερον ἔλαβε μετὰ τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
2 γενομένους, πάντα ἠνάγκασαν ἀποδοῦναι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέντοι ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τούς τε ἁρμοστὰς καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπήγαγον, Κλεόμβροτον δὲ ἔχοντα τὸ ἐν Φωκεῦσι στράτευμα καὶ ἐπερωτῶντα τὰ οἴκοι τέλη τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Προθόου

desired might aid the injured cities, but that any 371 B.C. which did not so desire was not under oath to be the ally of those who were injured. On these terms the Lacedaemonians took the oath for themselves and their allies, while the Athenians and their allies took the oath severally, city by city. The Thebans also signed their names among the cities which had sworn, but on the following day their ambassadors came in again and demanded that the writing be changed to read that "the Boeotians" instead of "the Thebans" had sworn.[1] Agesilaus, however, replied that he would change no part of what they had sworn to and signed in the first place; but if they did not wish to be included in the treaty, he said that he would strike out their names if they so directed. When, accordingly, under these circumstances the others had concluded peace, while the only controversy was with the Thebans, the Athenians were of the opinion that now there was hope that the Thebans would be decimated, as the common saying puts it, and as for the Thebans themselves, they went home utterly despondent.

IV. After this the Athenians, on their side, proceeded to withdraw their garrisons from the cities and to send after Iphicrates and his ships, and they compelled him to give back everything which he had captured after the time when the oaths were taken at Lacedaemon. But the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, while they withdrew both their governors and their garrisons from all the other cities, did not follow this course in the case of Cleombrotus, who was at the head of the army in Phocis and now asked the authorities at home what he should do.

[1] *i.e.* insisting upon their claim to headship in Boeotia.

λέξαντος ὅτι αὐτῷ δοκοίη διαλύσαντας τὸ στρά
τευμα κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ περιαγγείλαντας ταῖς
πόλεσι συμβαλέσθαι εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος
ὁπόσον βούλοιτο ἑκάστη πόλις, ἔπειτα εἰ μή τις
ἐῴη αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι, τότε πάλιν
παρακαλέσαντας ὅσοι τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ βούλοιντο
βοηθεῖν, ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους· οὕτω γὰρ
ἂν ἔφη οἴεσθαι τούς τε θεοὺς εὐμενεστάτους εἶναι
3 καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἥκιστ' ἂν ἄχθεσθαι· ἡ δ' ἐκκλησία
ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον μὲν φλυαρεῖν ἡγήσατο·
ἤδη γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἦγεν· ἐπέστειλαν
δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ μὴ διαλύειν τὸ στράτευμα,
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ αὐτο-
νόμους ἀφίοιεν τὰς πόλεις.[1] ἐπεὶ οὖν ᾔσθετο οὐχ
ὅπως τὰς πόλεις ἀφιέντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ στρά-
τευμα διαλύοντας, ὡς ἀντιτάττοιντο πρὸς αὐτόν,[2]
οὕτω δὴ ἄγει τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν.
Καὶ ᾗ μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν
Φωκέων προσεδόκων καὶ ἐπὶ στενῷ τινι ἐφύλαττον
οὐκ ἐμβάλλει· διὰ Θισβῶν δὲ ὀρεινὴν καὶ ἀπροσ-
δόκητον πορευθεὶς ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κρεῦσιν, καὶ
τὸ τεῖχος αἱρεῖ, καὶ τριήρεις τῶν Θηβαίων δώδεκα
4 λαμβάνει. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ ἀναβὰς ἀπὸ
τῆς θαλάττης, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Λεύκτροις
τῆς Θεσπικῆς. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο
ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπαντικρὺ λόφῳ οὐ πολὺ διαλείποντες,

[1] After πόλεις the MSS. proceed: ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἐπειδὴ ἐπύθετο τὴν εἰρήνην γεγενημένην, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἠρώτα τί χρὴ ποιεῖν· οἱ δ' ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ ἀφίοιεν τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις αὐτονόμους. These words are dropped by Kel. and all editors.

[2] ὡς ἀντιτάττοιντο πρὸς αὐτόν Brodaeus: ὡς ἀντετάττοντο πρὸς αὐτούς MSS., which Kel. retains, but brackets.

Prothous did indeed say that it seemed to him they ought first to disband the army in accordance with their oaths and send round word to the various cities to make contributions, as large as each city chose to make, to the temple of Apollo,[1] and afterwards, in case anyone tried to prevent the cities from being independent, to call together again at that time all who wished to support the cause of independence and lead them against those who opposed it; for he thought, he continued, that in this way the gods would be most favourably inclined toward them and the cities would be least annoyed. The Lacedaemonian assembly, however, upon hearing these words, came to the conclusion that he was talking nonsense; for at this moment, as it seems, Fate was leading them on; and they sent orders to Cleombrotus not to disband his army, but to lead it at once against the Thebans if they did not leave the cities independent. When, therefore, he learned that, so far from leaving the cities independent, the Thebans were not even disbanding their army, in order that they might marshal themselves against him, under these circumstances he undertook to lead his troops into Boeotia. 371 B.C.

Now Cleombrotus did not enter Boeotia from Phocis at the point where the Thebans expected him to enter and where they were keeping guard at a narrow pass; but proceeding by way of Thisbae along a mountainous and unexpected route, he arrived at Creusis, captured its wall, and took twelve triremes belonging to the Thebans. After accomplishing this exploit and marching up from the sea-coast, he encamped at Leuctra, in the territory of Thespiae. And the Thebans encamped on the opposite hill not

[1] *i.e.* for a war fund.

οὐδένας ἔχοντες συμμάχους ἀλλ' ἢ τοὺς Βοιωτούς. ἔνθα δὴ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ οἱ μὲν φίλοι προσ-
5 ιόντες ἔλεγον· Ὦ Κλεόμβροτε, εἰ ἀφήσεις τοὺς Θηβαίους ἄνευ μάχης, κινδυνεύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν. ἀναμνησθήσονται γάρ σου καὶ ὅτε εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἀφικόμενος οὐδὲν τῆς χώρας τῶν Θηβαίων ἐδῄωσας, καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον στρατεύων ἀπεκρούσθης τῆς ἐμβολῆς, Ἀγησιλάου ἀεὶ ἐμβάλλοντος διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος. εἴπερ οὖν ἢ σαυτοῦ κήδῃ ἢ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οἱ μὲν φίλοι τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον· οἱ δ' ἐναντίοι· Νῦν δή, ἔφασαν, δηλώσει ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰ τῷ ὄντι κήδεται τῶν Θηβαίων, ὥσπερ λέγεται.[1]

6 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεόμβροτος ταῦτα ἀκούων παρωξύνετο πρὸς τὸ μάχην συνάπτειν. τῶν δ' αὖ Θηβαίων οἱ προεστῶτες ἐλογίζοντο ὡς εἰ μὴ μαχοῖντο, ἀποστήσοιντο μὲν αἱ περιοικίδες αὐτῶν πόλεις, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιορκήσοιντο· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἕξοι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θηβαίων τἀπιτήδεια, ὅτι κινδυνεύσοι καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γενέσθαι. ἅτε δὲ καὶ πεφευγότες πρόσθεν πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐλογίζοντο κρεῖττον εἶναι
7 μαχομένους ἀποθνῄσκειν ἢ πάλιν φεύγειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις παρεθάρρυνε μέν τι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ χρησμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος ὡς δέοι ἐνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίους ἡττηθῆναι ἔνθα τὸ τῶν παρθένων ἦν μνῆμα, αἳ λέγονται διὰ τὸ βιασθῆναι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τινῶν ἀποκτεῖναι ἑαυτάς. καὶ ἐκόσμησαν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης.

[1] λέγεται MSS.: λέγει Kel.

very far away, with no allies except the Boeotians. 371 B.C.
Then his friends went to Cleombrotus and said: "Cleombrotus, if you let the Thebans escape without a battle, you will be in danger of suffering the uttermost penalty at the hands of your state. For they will remember against you not only the time when you reached Cynoscephalae and laid waste no part of the country of the Thebans, but also the time when, on your later expedition, you were beaten back from effecting your entrance, although Agesilaus always made his entrance by way of Cithaeron. Therefore if you really have a care for yourself or a desire to see your fatherland again, you must lead against these men." Such were the words of his friends; but his opponents said: "Now is the time when the man will make it clear whether he is in truth partial to the Thebans, as rumour has it."

Cleombrotus, then, as he heard these things was spurred on to join battle. The leaders of the Thebans, on the other hand, calculated that if they did not fight, the cities round about would revolt from them and they would themselves be besieged; further, that if the people of Thebes were thus cut off from provisions, the city itself would be in danger of turning against them. And since many of them had been in exile before, they estimated that it was better to die fighting than to be exiled again. Besides this, they were also somewhat encouraged by the oracle which was reported—that the Lacedaemonians were destined to be defeated at the spot where stood the monument of the virgins, who are said to have killed themselves because they had been violated by certain Lacedaemonians. The Thebans accordingly decorated this monument before the

ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς ὡς οἵ
τε νεῲ πάντες αὐτόματοι ἀνεῴγοντο, αἵ τε ἱέρειαι
λέγοιεν ὡς νίκην οἱ θεοὶ φαίνοιεν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
Ἡρακλείου καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔφασαν ἀφανῆ εἶναι, ὡς
τοῦ Ἡρακλέους εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐξωρμημένου. οἱ
μὲν δή τινες λέγουσιν ὡς ταῦτα πάντα τεχνά-
8 σματα ἦν τῶν προεστηκότων. εἰς δ' οὖν τὴν
μάχην τοῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις πάντα ἐναντία
ἐγίγνετο, τοῖς δὲ πάντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης κατωρ-
θοῦτο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ μετ' ἄριστον τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ
ἡ τελευταία βουλὴ περὶ τῆς μάχης· ἐν δὲ τῇ
μεσημβρίᾳ ὑποπινόντων καὶ τὸν οἶνον παροξῦναί
9 τι αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡπλίζοντο ἑκάτεροι
καὶ πρόδηλον ἤδη ἦν ὅτι μάχη ἔσοιτο, πρῶτον
μὲν ἀπιέναι ὡρμημένων ἐκ τοῦ Βοιωτίου στρα-
τεύματος τῶν τὴν ἀγορὰν παρεσκευακότων καὶ
σκευοφόρων τινῶν καὶ τῶν οὐ βουλομένων μά-
χεσθαι, περιιόντες κύκλῳ οἵ τε μετὰ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος
μισθοφόροι καὶ οἱ τῶν Φωκέων πελτασταὶ καὶ
τῶν ἱππέων Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ Φλειάσιοι ἐπιθέ-
μενοι τοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπέστρεψάν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ
κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Βοιω-
τῶν. ὥστε πολὺ μὲν ἐποίησαν μεῖζόν τε καὶ
ἀθροώτερον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν στρά-
10 τευμα. ἔπειτα δέ, ἅτε καὶ πεδίου ὄντος τοῦ
μεταξύ, προετάξαντο μὲν τῆς ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγος
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἱππέας, ἀντετάξαντο δ'
αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν. ἦν δὲ τὸ
μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππικὸν μεμελετηκὸς διά τε τὸν

battle. Furthermore, reports were brought to them from the city that all the temples were opening of themselves, and that the priestesses said that the gods revealed victory. And the messengers reported that from the Heracleium the arms also had disappeared, indicating that Heracles had gone forth to the battle. Some, to be sure, say that all these things were but devices of the leaders. But in the battle, at any rate, everything turned out adversely for the Lacedaemonians, while for the other side everything went prosperously, even to the gifts of fortune. For it was after the morning meal that Cleombrotus held his last council over the battle, and drinking a little, as they did, at the middle of the day, it was said that the wine helped somewhat to excite them. Again, when both sides were arming themselves and it was already evident that there would be a battle, in the first place, after those who had provided the market and some baggage-carriers and such as did not wish to fight had set out to withdraw from the Boeotian army, the Lacedaemonian mercenaries under Hieron, the peltasts of the Phocians, and, among the horsemen, the Heracleots and Phliasians made a circuit and fell upon these people as they were departing, and not only turned them about but chased them back to the camp of the Boeotians. Thereby they made the Boeotian army much larger and more densely massed than it had been before. In the second place, since the space between the armies was a plain, the Lacedaemonians posted their horsemen in front of their phalanx, and the Thebans in like manner posted theirs over against them. Now the cavalry of the Thebans was in good training as a result of the war with the Orchomenians 371 B.C.

πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς Θεσπιᾶς, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν
11 χρόνον πονηρότατον ἦν τὸ ἱππικόν. ἔτρεφον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἵππους οἱ πλουσιώτατοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ φρουρὰ φανθείη, τότε ἧκεν ὁ συντεταγμένος· λαβὼν δ' ἂν τὸν ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα ὁποῖα δοθείη αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἂν ἐστρατεύετο· τῶν δ' αὖ στρατιωτῶν οἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι καὶ
12 ἥκιστα φιλότιμοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἦσαν. τοιοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸ ἱππικὸν ἑκατέρων ἦν. τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασαν εἰς τρεῖς τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἄγειν· τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνειν αὐτοῖς οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα τὸ βάθος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων συνεστραμμένοι ἦσαν, λογιζόμενοι ὡς εἰ νικήσειαν τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ ἄλλο πᾶν εὐχείρωτον ἔσοιτο.

13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξατο ἄγειν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, πρῶτον μὲν πρὶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στράτευμα ὅτι ἡγοῖτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς συνεβεβλήκεσαν καὶ ταχὺ ἥττηντο οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. φεύγοντες δὲ ἐνεπεπτώκεσαν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὁπλίταις, ἔτι δὲ ἐνέβαλλον οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων λόχοι. ὅμως δὲ ὡς οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον τὸ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῇ μάχῃ σαφεῖ τούτῳ τεκμηρίῳ γνοίη τις ἄν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐδύναντο αὐτὸν ἀνελέσθαι καὶ ζῶντα ἀπενεγκεῖν, εἰ μὴ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἐπεκράτουν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ
14 χρόνῳ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀπέθανε Δείνων τε ὁ πολέ-

and the war with the Thespians, while the cavalry of the Lacedaemonians was exceedingly poor at that time. For the richest men kept the horses, and it was only when the ban was called out that the appointed trooper presented himself; then he would get his horse and such arms as were given him, and take the field on the moment's notice. As for the men, on the other hand, it was those who were least strong of body and least ambitious who were mounted on the horses. Such, then, was the cavalry on either side. Coming now to the infantry, it was said that the Lacedaemonians led each half-company three files abreast, and that this resulted in the phalanx being not more than twelve men deep.[1] The Thebans, however, were massed not less than fifty shields deep, calculating that if they conquered that part of the army which was around the king, all the rest of it would be easy to overcome. 371 B.C.

Now when Cleombrotus began to lead his army against the enemy, in the first place, before the troops under him so much as perceived that he was advancing, the horsemen had already joined battle and those of the Lacedaemonians had speedily been worsted; then in their flight they had fallen foul of their own hoplites, and, besides, the companies of the Thebans were now charging upon them. Nevertheless, the fact that Cleombrotus and his men were at first victorious in the battle may be known from this clear indication: they would not have been able to take him up and carry him off still living, had not those who were fighting in front of him been holding the advantage at that time. But when Deinon, the polemarch, Sphodrias,

[1] *i.e.* the half-company numbered thirty-six men.

μαρχος καὶ Σφοδρίας τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς[1] καὶ οἱ συμφορεῖς τοῦ πολεμάρχου καλούμενοι οἵ τε ἄλλοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ὠθούμενοι ἀνεχώρουν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ἑώρων τὸ δεξιὸν ὠθούμενον, ἐνέκλιναν· ὅμως δὲ πολλῶν τεθνεώτων καὶ ἡττημένοι ἐπεὶ διέβησαν τὴν τάφρον, ἣ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔτυχεν οὖσα αὐτοῖς, ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ χώραν ἔνθεν ὥρμηντο. ἦν μέντοι οὐ πάνυ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὀρθίῳ μᾶλλόν τι τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἦσαν μέν τινες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἳ ἀφόρητον τὴν συμφορὰν ἡγούμενοι τό τε τροπαῖον ἔφασαν χρῆναι κωλύειν ἱστάναι τοὺς πολεμίους, τούς τε νεκροὺς μὴ ὑποσπόνδους, ἀλλὰ διὰ μάχης πειρᾶσθαι

15 ἀναιρεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ πολέμαρχοι, ὁρῶντες μὲν τῶν συμπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων τεθνεῶτας ἐγγὺς χιλίους, ὁρῶντες δ' αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὄντων[2] ἐκεῖ ὡς ἑπτακοσίων, τεθνηκότας περὶ τετρακοσίους, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους πάντας μὲν ἀθύμως ἔχοντας πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, ἔστι δὲ οὓς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἀχθομένους τῷ γεγενημένῳ, συλλέξαντες τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους ἐβουλεύοντο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναιρεῖσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἔπεμψαν κήρυκα περὶ σπονδῶν. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν.

16 Γενομένων δὲ τούτων, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαί-

[1] μὲν ἱππεῖς Stephanus: μὲν ἵπποι MSS.: μένιπποι Kel.
[2] After ὄντων the MSS. have τῶν: Kel. brackets, following Hartman.

one of the king's tent-companions, and Cleonymus, 371 B.C. the son of Sphodrias, had been killed, then the royal bodyguard, the so-called aides of the polemarch, and the others fell back under the pressure of the Theban mass, while those who were on the left wing of the Lacedaemonians, when they saw that the right wing was being pushed back, gave way. Yet despite the fact that many had fallen and that they were defeated, after they had crossed the trench which chanced to be in front of their camp they grounded their arms at the spot from which they had set forth. The camp, to be sure, was not on ground which was altogether level, but rather on the slope of a hill. After the disaster some of the Lacedaemonians, thinking it unendurable, said that they ought to prevent the enemy from setting up their trophy and to try to recover the bodies of the dead, not by means of a truce, but by fighting. The polemarchs, however, seeing that of the whole number of the Lacedaemonians almost a thousand had been killed; seeing, further, that among the Spartiatae themselves, of whom there were some seven hundred there, about four hundred had fallen; and perceiving that the allies were one and all without heart for fighting, while some of them were not even displeased at what had taken place, gathered together the most important personages and deliberated about what they should do. And as all thought it best to recover the bodies of the dead by a truce, they finally sent a herald to ask for a truce. After this, then, the Thebans set up a trophy and gave back the bodies under a truce.

After these things had happened, the messenger

μονα ἀγγελῶν[1] τὸ πάθος ἀφικνεῖται γυμνοπαιδιῶν τε οὔσης τῆς τελευταίας καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χοροῦ ἔνδον ὄντος· οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸ πάθος, ἐλυποῦντο μέν, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, ἀνάγκη· τὸν μέντοι χορὸν οὐκ ἐξήγαγον, ἀλλὰ διαγωνίσασθαι εἴων. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἑκάστου τῶν τεθνεώτων ἀπέδοσαν· προεῖπαν δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶ μὴ ποιεῖν κραυγήν, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ τὸ πάθος φέρειν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦν ὁρᾶν, ὧν μὲν ἐτέθνασαν οἱ προσήκοντες, λιπαροὺς καὶ φαιδροὺς ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀναστρεφομένους, ὧν δὲ ζῶντες ἠγγελμένοι ἦσαν, ὀλίγους ἂν εἶδες, τούτους δὲ σκυθρωποὺς καὶ ταπεινοὺς περιιόντας.

17 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου φρουρὰν μὲν ἔφαινον οἱ ἔφοροι ταῖν ὑπολοίποιν μόραιν μέχρι τῶν τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης. ἐξέπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω μορῶν μέχρι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡλικίας· τὸ γὰρ πρόσθεν εἰς τοὺς Φωκέας μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης ἐστράτευντο· καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς δὲ τότε

18 καταλειφθέντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀγησίλαος ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας οὔπω ἴσχυεν· ἡ δὲ πόλις Ἀρχίδαμον τὸν υἱὸν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῦ[2] ἡγεῖσθαι. προθύμως δ' αὐτῷ συνεστρατεύοντο Τεγεᾶται· ἔτι γὰρ ἔζων οἱ περὶ Στάσιππον, λακωνίζοντες καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δυνάμενοι ἐν τῇ

[1] ἀγγελῶν MSS.: ἀγγέλλων Kel.
[2] ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῦ MSS.: ἐκέλευεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Kel.

[1] A Spartan festival, celebrated with singing, dancing, and gymnastic exhibitions.

who was sent to carry the news of the calamity to Lacedaemon arrived there on the last day of the festival of the Gymnopaediae,[1] when the chorus of men was in the theatre. And when the ephors heard of the disaster, they were indeed distressed, as, I conceive, was inevitable; yet they did not withdraw the chorus, but suffered it to finish its performance. Further, although they duly gave the names of the dead to their several kinsmen, they gave orders to the women not to make any outcry, but to bear the calamity in silence. And on the following day one could see those whose relatives had been killed going about in public with bright and cheerful faces, while of those whose relatives had been reported as living you would have seen but few, and these few walking about gloomy and downcast. 371 B.C.

After this the ephors called out the ban of the two remaining[2] regiments, going up as far as those who were forty years beyond the minimum military age; they also sent out all up to the same age who belonged to the regiments abroad[3]; for in the original expedition to Phocis only those men who were not more than thirty-five years beyond the minimum age had served; furthermore, they ordered those who at that time had been left behind in public office to join their regiments. Now Agesilaus as a result of his illness was not yet strong; accordingly the state directed Archidamus, his son, to act as commander. And the Tegeans served with him zealously; for the followers of Stasippus were still alive, who were favourable to the Lacedaemonians and had no slight power in their own state. Likewise

[2] *cp.* i. 1 and note. [3] *i.e.* now at Leuctra.

πόλει. ἐρρωμένως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν συνεστρατεύοντο· ἀριστοκρατούμενοι γὰρ ἐτύγχανον. καὶ Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Φλειάσιοι καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ μάλα προθύμως ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις ἐξέπεμπον στρατιώτας. ἐπλήρουν δὲ καὶ τριήρεις αὐτοί τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ἐδέοντο καὶ Σικυωνίων συμπληροῦν, ἐφ' ὧν διενοοῦντο τὸ στράτευμα
19 διαβιβάζειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι εὐθὺς μὲν μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἄγγελον ἐστεφανωμένον, καὶ ἅμα μὲν τῆς νίκης τὸ μέγεθος ἔφραζον, ἅμα δὲ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευον, λέγοντες ὡς νῦν ἐξείη Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων ὧν ἐπεποιήκεσαν αὐτοὺς
20 τιμωρήσασθαι. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἡ βουλὴ ἐτύγχανεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθημένη. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσαν τὸ γεγενημένον, ὅτι μὲν σφόδρα ἠνιάθησαν πᾶσι δῆλον ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν κήρυκα ἐκάλεσαν, περί τε τῆς βοηθείας οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο. καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν μὲν οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν ὁ κῆρυξ. πρὸς μέντοι Ἰάσονα, σύμμαχον ὄντα, ἔπεμπον σπουδῇ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, κελεύοντες βοηθεῖν,
21 διαλογιζόμενοι πῇ τὸ μέλλον ἀποβήσοιτο. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς τριήρεις μὲν ἐπλήρου, ὡς βοηθήσων κατὰ θάλατταν, συλλαβὼν δὲ τό τε ξενικὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππέας, καίπερ ἀκηρύκτῳ πολέμῳ

the Mantineans from their villages[1] supported him stoutly; for they chanced to be under an aristocratic government. Furthermore, the Corinthians, Sicyonians, Phliasians, and Achaeans followed him with all zeal, and other states also sent out soldiers. Meanwhile the Lacedaemonians themselves and the Corinthians manned triremes and requested the Sicyonians also to help them in so doing, intending to carry the army across the gulf on these ships. And Archidamus accordingly offered his sacrifices at the frontier. 371 B.C.

As for the Thebans, immediately after the battle they sent to Athens a garlanded messenger, and while telling of the greatness of their victory, they at the same time urged the Athenians to come to their aid, saying that now it was possible to take vengeance upon the Lacedaemonians for all the harm they had done to them. Now the Senate of the Athenians chanced to be holding its sitting on the Acropolis. And when they heard what had taken place, it was made clear to everyone that they were greatly distressed; for they did not invite the herald to partake of hospitality and about the matter of aid they gave him no answer. So the herald departed from Athens without having received a reply. But to Jason, who was their ally, the Thebans sent in haste, urging him to come to their aid; for they were debating among themselves how the future would turn out. And Jason immediately proceeded to man triremes, as though he intended to go to their assistance by sea, but in fact he took his mercenary force and his bodyguard of cavalry and, although the Phocians were engaged in a bitter warfare

[1] See v. ii. 5–7.

τῶν Φωκέων χρωμένων, πεζῇ διεπορεύθη εἰς τὴν
Βοιωτίαν, ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων πρότερον
ὀφθεὶς ἢ ἀγγελθεὶς ὅτι πορεύοιτο. πρὶν γοῦν
συλλέγεσθαί τι πανταχόθεν ἔφθανε πόρρω γιγνό-
μενος, δῆλον ποιῶν ὅτι πολλαχοῦ τὸ τάχος μᾶλ-
λον τῆς βίας διαπράττεται τὰ δέοντα.
22 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, λεγόντων
τῶν Θηβαίων ὡς καιρὸς εἴη ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Λακε-
δαιμονίοις, ἄνωθεν μὲν ἐκεῖνον σὺν τῷ ξενικῷ,
σφᾶς δὲ ἀντιπροσώπους, ἀπέτρεπεν αὐτοὺς ὁ
Ἰάσων, διδάσκων ὡς καλοῦ ἔργου γεγενημένου οὐκ
ἄξιον αὐτοῖς εἴη διακινδυνεῦσαι, ὥστε ἢ ἔτι μείζω
καταπρᾶξαι ἢ στερηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γεγενημένης
23 νίκης. Οὐχ ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ ἐν
ἀνάγκῃ ἐγένεσθε, ἐκρατήσατε; οἴεσθαι οὖν χρὴ
καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἄν, εἰ ἀναγκάζοιντο, τοῦ[1]
ζῆν ἀπονοηθέντας διαμάχεσθαι. καὶ ὁ θεὸς δέ,
ὡς ἔοικε, πολλάκις χαίρει τοὺς μὲν μικροὺς μεγά-
24 λους ποιῶν, τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους μικρούς. τοὺς
μὲν οὖν Θηβαίους τοιαῦτα λέγων ἀπέτρεπε τοῦ
διακινδυνεύειν· τοὺς δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐδίδα-
σκεν οἷον μὲν εἴη ἡττημένον στράτευμα, οἷον δὲ
νενικηκός. Εἰ δ' ἐπιλαθέσθαι,[2] ἔφη, βούλεσθε τὸ
γεγενημένον πάθος, συμβουλεύω ἀναπνεύσαντας
καὶ ἀναπαυσαμένους καὶ μείζους γεγενημένους
τοῖς ἀηττήτοις οὕτως εἰς μάχην ἰέναι. νῦν δέ,
ἔφη, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὑμῖν εἰσιν οἳ

[1] Before τοῦ the MSS. have ἐκγενέσθαι: Kel. brackets, following Madvig. [2] ἐπιλαθέσθαι MSS.: ἐξιάσασθαι Kel.

against him, proceeded by land through their country into Boeotia, appearing in many of their towns before it was reported to them that he was on the march. At any rate, before they could gather troops together from here and there, he was already far on ahead, thus making it clear that in many cases it is speed rather than force which accomplishes the desired results. 371 B.C.

But when he arrived in Boeotia and the Thebans said that now was the right moment to attack the Lacedaemonians, he with his mercenaries from the heights above and they by a frontal assault, Jason sought to dissuade them, pointing out that since they had done a good work, it was not worth while for them to venture a decisive engagement in which they would either accomplish yet greater things or would be deprived of the victory already gained. "Do you not see," he said, "that in your own case it was when you found yourselves in straits that you won the victory? Therefore one must suppose that the Lacedaemonians also, if they were in like straits, would fight it out regardless of their lives. Besides, it seems that the deity often takes pleasure in making the small great and the great small." With such words, then, he endeavoured to dissuade the Thebans from making the final venture; to the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, he pointed out what manner of thing a defeated army was, and what an army victorious. "And if you wish," he said, "to forget the disaster which has befallen you, I advise you first to recover your breath and rest yourselves, and then, after you have become stronger, go into battle against men who are unconquered. But now," he said, "be well assured that even among

διαλέγονται περὶ φιλίας τοῖς πολεμίοις· ἀλλὰ ἐκ
παντὸς τρόπου πειρᾶσθε σπονδὰς λαβεῖν. ταῦτα
δ', ἔφη, ἐγὼ προθυμοῦμαι, σῶσαι ὑμᾶς βουλό-
μενος διά τε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς φιλίαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
25 καὶ διὰ τὸ προξενεῖν ὑμῶν. ἔλεγε μὲν οὖν τοι-
αῦτα, ἔπραττε δ' ἴσως ὅπως διάφοροι καὶ οὗτοι
ἀλλήλοις ὄντες ἀμφότεροι ἐκείνου δέοιντο. οἱ μέν-
τοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀκούσαντες αὐτοῦ, πράττειν
περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἐκέλευον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπηγγέλθη
ὅτι εἴησαν αἱ σπονδαί, παρήγγειλαν οἱ πολέ-
μαρχοι δειπνήσαντας συνεσκευάσθαι πάντας,
ὡς τῆς νυκτὸς πορευσομένους, ὅπως ἅμα τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἀναβαίνοιεν. ἐπεὶ
δ' ἐδείπνησαν, πρὶν καθεύδειν παραγγείλαντες
ἀκολουθεῖν, ἡγοῦντο εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἑσπέρας τὴν διὰ
Κρεύσιος, τῷ λαθεῖν πιστεύοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς
26 σπονδαῖς. μάλα δὲ χαλεπῶς πορευόμενοι, οἷα
δὴ ἐν νυκτί τε καὶ ἐν φόβῳ ἀπιόντες καὶ χαλεπὴν
ὁδόν, εἰς Αἰγόσθενα τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀφικνοῦνται.
ἐκεῖ δὲ περιτυγχάνουσι τῷ μετὰ Ἀρχιδάμου
στρατεύματι. ἔνθα δὴ ἀναμείνας, ἕως καὶ οἱ
σύμμαχοι πάντες παρεγένοντο, ἀπῆγε πᾶν ὁμοῦ
τὸ στράτευμα μέχρι Κορίνθου· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τοὺς
μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας οἴκαδε
ἀπήγαγεν.
27 Ὁ μέντοι Ἰάσων ἀπιὼν διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος
Ὑαμπολιτῶν μὲν τό τε προάστιον εἷλε καὶ τὴν
χώραν ἐπόρθησε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε πολλούς· τὴν δ'
ἄλλην Φωκίδα διῆλθεν ἀπραγμόνως. ἀφικόμενος

your allies there are those who are holding converse with the enemy about a treaty of friendship with them; by all means, then, try to obtain a truce. And I am myself eager for this," he said, "out of a desire to save you, both because of my father's friendship with you and because I am your diplomatic agent." Such, then, were the arguments he urged, but he was acting perhaps with the purpose that these two parties, at variance as they were with one another, might both alike be in need of him. The Lacedaemonians, however, after hearing his words bade him negotiate for the truce; and when the report came that the truce had been made, the polemarchs gave orders that after dining all should have their baggage packed and ready with the purpose of setting out during the night, in order that at daybreak they might be climbing Cithaeron. But when the men had dined and before they went to rest, the polemarchs gave the order to follow, and led the way immediately upon the fall of evening by the road through Creusis, trusting to secrecy more than to the truce. And proceeding with very great difficulty, since they were withdrawing at night and in fear and by a hard road, they arrived at Aegosthena in the territory of Megara. There they fell in with the army under Archidamus. And after waiting there until all the allies had joined him, Archidamus led back the whole army together as far as Corinth; from there he dismissed the allies and led the citizen troops back home. 371 B.C.

As for Jason, on his way back through Phocis he captured the outer city of the Hyampolitans, laid waste their land, and killed many of them, but he passed through the rest of Phocis without any hostile

δὲ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν κατέβαλε τὸ Ἡρακλεωτῶν
τεῖχος, δῆλον ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο φοβούμενος, μή τινες
ἀναπεπταμένης ταύτης τῆς παρόδου πορεύσοιντο
ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐνθυμού-
μενος μή τινες τὴν Ἡράκλειαν ἐπὶ στενῷ οὖσαν
καταλαβόντες εἴργοιεν αὐτόν, εἴ ποι βούλοιτο τῆς
28 Ἑλλάδος πορεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆλθε πάλιν εἰς
τὴν Θετταλίαν, μέγας μὲν ἦν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῷ νόμῳ
Θετταλῶν ταγὸς καθεστάναι καὶ διὰ τὸ μισθοφό-
ρους πολλοὺς τρέφειν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ
ἱππέας, καὶ τούτους ἐκπεπονημένους ὡς ἂν κρά-
τιστοι εἶεν· ἔτι δὲ μείζων καὶ διὰ τὸ συμμάχους
πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἤδη εἶναι αὐτῷ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔτι
βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι. μέγιστος δ' ἦν τῶν καθ'
αὐτὸν τῷ μηδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς εὐκαταφρόνητος εἶναι.
29 Ἐπιόντων δὲ Πυθίων παρήγγειλε μὲν ταῖς πό-
λεσι βοῦς καὶ οἷς καὶ αἶγας καὶ ὗς παρασκευάζε-
σθαι ὡς εἰς τὴν θυσίαν. καὶ ἔφασαν πάνυ μετρίως
ἑκάστῃ πόλει ἐπαγγελλομένῳ γενέσθαι βοῦς μὲν
οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα βοσκήματα
πλείω ἢ μύρια. ἐκήρυξε δὲ καὶ νικητήριον χρυ-
σοῦν στέφανον ἔσεσθαι, ἥτις τῶν πόλεων βοῦν
30 ἡγεμόνα κάλλιστον τῷ θεῷ θρέψειε. παρήγγειλε
δὲ καὶ ὡς στρατευσομένοις εἰς τὸν περὶ τὰ Πύθια
χρόνον Θετταλοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι· διενοεῖτο
γάρ, ὡς ἔφασαν, καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τῷ θεῷ καὶ

act. Upon arriving at Heracleia, however, he destroyed the walled city of the Heracleots, manifestly having no fear that when this passage-way[1] had been thus thrown open anyone would march against his own dominion, but rather making provision that none should seize Heracleia, situated as it was at a narrow pass,[1] and block his way if he wanted to march to any place in Greece. And when he had come back again to Thessaly, he was in great repute both because he had legally been made Tagus of the Thessalians[2] and because he maintained about him many mercenaries, both foot-soldiers and horsemen, these moreover being troops which had been trained to the highest efficiency; his repute was yet greater by reason of his many allies, including, in addition to those whom he already had, also those who were desirous of becoming such. And he was the greatest of the men of his time in that he was not lightly to be despised by anyone soever. 371 B.C.

Now when the Pythian festival was approaching, Jason sent orders to his cities to make ready cattle, sheep, goats, and swine for the sacrifice. And it was said that although he laid upon each city a very moderate demand, there were contributed no fewer than a thousand cattle and more than ten thousand of the other animals. He also made proclamation that a golden crown would be the prize of victory to the city which should rear the finest bull to lead the herd in honour of the god. Furthermore, he gave orders to the Thessalians to make preparations for taking the field at the time of the Pythian festival; for he was intending, it was said, to be himself the director both of the festal assembly 370 B.C.

[1] Thermopylae. [2] See i. 18.

τοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτὸς διατιθέναι. περὶ μέντοι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ὅπως μὲν διενοεῖτο ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἄδηλον· λέγεται δὲ ἐπερομένων τῶν Δελφῶν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἐὰν λαμβάνῃ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων,
31 ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν θεὸν ὅτι αὐτῷ μελήσει. ὁ δ'
οὖν ἀνὴρ τηλικοῦτος ὢν καὶ τόσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διανοούμενος, ἐξέτασιν πεποιηκὼς καὶ δοκιμασίαν τοῦ Φεραίων ἱππικοῦ, καὶ ἤδη καθήμενος καὶ ἀποκρινόμενος, εἴ τις δεόμενός του προσίοι, ὑπὸ νεανίσκων ἑπτὰ προσελθόντων ὡς διαφερομένων τι ἀλλήλοις ἀποσφάττεται καὶ κατακόπτεται.
32 βοηθησάντων δὲ ἐρρωμένως τῶν παραγενομένων
δορυφόρων εἷς μὲν ἔτι τύπτων τὸν Ἰάσονα λόγχῃ πληγεὶς ἀποθνήσκει· ἕτερος δὲ ἀναβαίνων ἐφ' ἵππον ἐγκαταληφθεὶς καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβὼν ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς παρεσκευασμένους ἵππους ἀπέφυγον· ὅποι δὲ ἀφίκοιντο τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις ἐτιμῶντο. ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι ἰσχυρῶς ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν μὴ τύραννος γένοιτο.

33 Ἀποθανόντος μέντοι ἐκείνου Πολύδωρος ἀδελ-
φὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Πολύφρων ταγοὶ κατέστησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Πολύδωρος, πορευομένων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς Λάρισαν, νύκτωρ καθεύδων ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ Πολύφρονος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὡς ἐδόκει· ὁ γὰρ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἐξαπιναῖός τε καὶ οὐκ ἔχων φανερὰν
34 πρόφασιν ἐγένετο. ὁ δ' αὖ Πολύφρων ἦρξε μὲν
ἐνιαυτόν, κατεσκευάσατο δὲ τὴν ταγείαν τυραννίδι

in honour of the god and of the games. What he 370 B.C. intended, however, in regard to the sacred treasures, is even to this day uncertain; but it is said that when the Delphians asked the god what they should do if he tried to take any of his treasures, Apollo replied that he would himself take care of the matter. At any rate this man, great as he was and purposing deeds so great and of such a kind, after he had held a review and inspection of the cavalry of the Pheraeans, and was now in his seat and making answer if anyone came to him with any request, was struck down and killed by seven young men who came up to him as though they had some quarrel with one another. And when the guardsmen who attended him rushed stoutly to his aid, one of the young men, while still in the act of striking Jason, was pierced with a lance and killed; a second was caught while mounting his horse, suffered many wounds, and so was killed; but the rest leaped upon the horses which they had in readiness and escaped, and in most of the Greek cities to which they came they were honoured. This fact, indeed, made it plain that the Greeks had conceived a very great fear lest Jason should become tyrant.[1]

When he had thus been slain, Polydorus, his brother, and Polyphron succeeded to the office of Tagus. Now Polydorus, while the two were on their way to Larisa, was killed at night in his sleep by Polyphron, his brother, as people thought; for his death was sudden and without manifest cause. Then Polyphron, in his turn, held sway for a year, and made the office of Tagus like the rule of a tyrant. For in

[1] *i.e.* an absolute and irresponsible ruler, whereas the position of Tagus was a legal, elective office.

ὁμοίαν. ἔν τε γὰρ Φαρσάλῳ τὸν Πολυδάμαντα
καὶ ἄλλους τῶν πολιτῶν ὀκτὼ τοὺς κρατίστους
ἀπέκτεινεν, ἔκ τε Λαρίσης πολλοὺς φυγάδας
ἐποίησε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν καὶ οὗτος ἀποθνῄσκει
ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς τιμωροῦντος τῷ Πολυδώρῳ
35 καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα καταλύοντος. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸς
παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, χαλεπὸς μὲν Θετταλοῖς
ταγὸς ἐγένετο, χαλεπὸς δὲ Θηβαίοις καὶ Ἀθη-
ναίοις πολέμιος, ἄδικος δὲ λῃστὴς καὶ κατὰ γῆν
καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. τοιοῦτος δ' ὢν καὶ αὐτὸς
αὖ ἀποθνῄσκει, αὐτοχειρία μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς
γυναικὸς ἀδελφῶν, βουλῇ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης.
36 τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀδελφοῖς ἐξήγγειλεν ὡς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος
ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔκρυψεν αὐτοὺς ἔνδον
ὄντας ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν. καὶ δεξαμένη μεθύοντα
τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπεὶ κατεκοίμισεν, ὁ μὲν λύχνος
ἐκάετο, τὸ δὲ ξίφος αὐτοῦ ἐξήνεγκεν. ὡς δ' ᾔσθετο
ὀκνοῦντας εἰσιέναι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς
ἀδελφούς, εἶπεν ὡς εἰ μὴ ἤδη πράξοιεν, ἐξεγερεῖ
αὐτόν. ὡς δ' εἰσῆλθον, ἐπισπάσασα τὴν θύραν
37 εἴχετο τοῦ ῥόπτρου, ἕως ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀνήρ. ἡ
δὲ ἔχθρα λέγεται αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι
ὑπὸ μέν τινων ὡς ἐπεὶ ἔδησε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παιδικὰ
ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, νεανίσκον ὄντα καλόν, δεηθείσης
αὐτῆς λῦσαι ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν· οἱ δέ
τινες ὡς, ἐπεὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐγίγνοντο ἐκ
ταύτης, ὅτι πέμπων ἐς Θήβας ἐμνήστευε τὴν
Ἰάσονος γυναῖκα.[1] τὰ μὲν οὖν αἴτια τῆς ἐπι-
βουλῆς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς οὕτω λέγεται· τῶν δὲ
ταῦτα πραξάντων ἄχρι οὗ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐγράφετο

[1] After γυναῖκα the MSS. have ἀναλαβεῖν: Kel. brackets, following Stephanus

Pharsalus he put to death Polydamas and eight more of the best among the citizens, and from Larisa he drove many into exile. While thus engaged he, also, was slain by Alexander, who posed as avenger of Polydorus and destroyer of the tyranny. But when Alexander had himself succeeded to the position of ruler, he proved a cruel Tagus to the Thessalians, a cruel enemy to the Thebans and Athenians, and an unjust robber both by land and by sea. Being such a man, he likewise was slain in his turn, the actual deed being done by his wife's brothers, though the plan was conceived by the woman herself. For she reported to her brothers that Alexander was plotting against them, and concealed them within the house for the entire day. Then after she had received Alexander home in a drunken state and had put him to bed, while the light was left burning she carried his sword out of the chamber. And when she perceived that her brothers were hesitating to go in and attack Alexander, she said that if they did not act at once she would wake him. Then, as soon as they had gone in, she closed the door and held fast to the knocker until her husband had been killed. Now her hatred toward her husband is said by some people to have been caused by the fact that when Alexander had imprisoned his own favourite, who was a beautiful youth, and she begged him to release him, he took him out and slew him; others, however, say that inasmuch as no children were being born to him of this woman, Alexander was sending to Thebes and trying to win as his wife the widow of Jason. The reasons, then, for the plot on the part of his wife are thus stated; but as for those who executed this deed, Tisiphonus, who was the eldest of the brothers,

370 B.C. 369 B.C. 358 B.C.

Τισίφονος πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχε.

V. Καὶ τὰ μὲν Θετταλικά, ὅσα περὶ Ἰάσονα ἐπράχθη καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον μέχρι τῆς Τισιφόνου ἀρχῆς δεδήλωται· νῦν δ' ἐπάνειμι ἔνθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐξέβην. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ Λεῦκτρα βοηθείας ἀπήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα, ἐνθυμηθέντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἔτι οἴονται χρῆναι ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ οὔπω διακέοιντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὥσπερ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διέθεσαν, μεταπέμπονται τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι βούλοιντο τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχειν ἣν βασιλεὺς
2 κατέπεμψεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, δόγμα ἐποιήσαντο μετὰ τῶν κοινωνεῖν βουλομένων ὀμόσαι τόνδε τὸν ὅρκον. Ἐμμενῶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἃς βασιλεὺς κατέπεμψε καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι τοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. ἐὰν δέ τις στρατεύῃ ἐπί τινα πόλιν τῶν ὀμοσασῶν τόνδε τὸν ὅρκον, βοηθήσω παντὶ σθένει. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔχαιρον τῷ ὅρκῳ· Ἠλεῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον ὡς οὐ δέοι αὐτονόμους ποιεῖν οὔτε Μαργανέας οὔτε Σκιλλουντίους οὔτε Τριφυλίους· σφετέρας
3 γὰρ εἶναι ταύτας τὰς πόλεις. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ψηφισάμενοι, ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψεν, αὐτονόμους εἶναι ὁμοίως καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας πόλεις, ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς ὁρκωτάς,

held the position of ruler up to the time when this narrative was written.[1] 358 B.C.

V. All the events, then, which took place in Thessaly in connection with Jason, and, after his death, down to the rule of Tisiphonus, have thus been described; now I return to the point from which I digressed to discuss these matters. When, namely, Archidamus had led back his army from the relief expedition to Leuctra, the Athenians, taking thought of the fact that the Peloponnesians still counted themselves bound to follow the Lacedaemonians, and that the latter were not yet in the same situation to which they had brought the Athenians, invited to Athens all the cities which wished to participate in the peace which the King had sent down. And when they had come together, they passed a resolution to take the following oath, in company with such as desired to share in the peace: "I will abide by the treaty which the King sent down, and by the decrees of the Athenians and their allies. And if anybody takes the field against any one of the cities which have sworn this oath, I will come to her aid with all my strength." Now all the others were pleased with the oath; the Eleans only opposed it, saying that it was not right to make either the Marganians, Scilluntians, or Triphylians independent, for these cities were theirs. But the Athenians and the others, after voting that both small and great cities alike should be independent, even as the King wrote, sent out the officers charged with administering the oath and directed them to 371 B.C.

[1] Xenophon probably died in 354 B.C. Hence this portion of his narrative was written between 358 (see above) and 354 B.C.

καὶ ἐκέλευσαν τὰ μέγιστα τέλη ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει ὁρκῶσαι. καὶ ὤμοσαν πάντες πλὴν Ἠλείων.

Ἐξ ὧν δὴ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς, ὡς ἤδη αὐτόνομοι παντάπασιν ὄντες, συνῆλθόν τε πάντες καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο μίαν πόλιν[1] τὴν Μαντίνειαν ποιεῖν καὶ
4 τειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγοῦντο, εἰ τοῦτο ἄνευ τῆς σφετέρας γνώμης ἔσοιτο, χαλεπὸν ἔσεσθαι. πέμπουσιν οὖν Ἀγησίλαον πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τοὺς Μαντινέας, ὅτι ἐδόκει πατρικὸς φίλος αὐτοῖς εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς αὐτούς, τὸν μὲν δῆμον τῶν Μαντινέων οἱ ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἤθελον συλλέξαι αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ σφᾶς ἐκέλευον λέγειν ὅτου δέοιτο. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν νῦν ἐπίσχωσι τῆς τειχίσεως, ποιήσειν ὥστε μετὰ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος γνώμης καὶ μὴ δαπανηρῶς τειχισθῆναι τὸ τεῖχος.
5 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἀδύνατον εἴη ἐπισχεῖν, δόγματος γεγενημένου πάσῃ τῇ πόλει ἤδη τειχίζειν, ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἀπῄει ὀργιζόμενος· στρατεύειν γε μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐ δυνατὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἐπ' αὐτονομίᾳ τῆς εἰρήνης γεγενημένης. τοῖς δὲ Μαντινεῦσιν ἔπεμπον μὲν καὶ τῶν Ἀρκαδικῶν πόλεών τινες συντειχιοῦντας, οἱ δὲ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ ἀργυρίου τρία τάλαντα συνεβάλοντο αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος δαπάνην. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μαντινεῖς περὶ ταῦτ' ἦσαν.

6 Τῶν δὲ Τεγεατῶν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον καὶ Πρόξενον ἐνῆγον ἐπὶ τὸ συνιέναι τε πᾶν τὸ

[1] πόλιν MSS.: πάλιν Kel.

administer it to the highest authorities in each city. 371 B.C.
And all took the oath except the Eleans.

As a natural result of these proceedings the Mantineans, feeling that they were now entirely independent, all came together and voted to make Mantinea a single[1] city and to put a wall about it. But the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, thought that it would be a grievous thing if this were done without their approval. They accordingly sent Agesilaus as ambassador to the Mantineans, because he was regarded as an ancestral friend of theirs.[2] Now when he had come to them, the officials refused to assemble for him the Mantinean people, but bade him tell them what he desired. He then offered them his promise that, if they would desist from their wall-building for the present, he would arrange matters so that the wall should be constructed with the approval of Lacedaemon and without great expense. And when they replied that it was impossible to desist, since a resolution to build at once had been adopted by the entire city, Agesilaus thereupon departed in anger. It did not seem to be possible, however, to make an expedition against them, inasmuch as the peace had been concluded on the basis of independence. Meanwhile some of the Arcadian cities sent men to help the Mantineans in their building, and the Eleans made them a contribution of three talents in money toward the expense of the wall. The Mantineans, then, were occupied with this work.

Among the Tegeans, on the other hand, the fol- 370 B.C.
lowers of Callibius and Proxenus were making efforts to the end that all the people of Arcadia should

[1] *cp.* v. ii. 7. [2] *cp.* v. ii. 3.

᾿Αρκαδικόν, καὶ ὅ τι νικῴη ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι καὶ τῶν πόλεων· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον ἔπραττον ἐάν τε κατὰ χώραν τὴν
7 πόλιν καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι. ἡττώμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πρόξενον καὶ Καλλίβιον ἐν τοῖς θεαροῖς, νομίσαντες, εἰ συνέλθοι ὁ δῆμος, πολὺ ἂν τῷ πλήθει κρατῆσαι, ἐκφέρονται τὰ ὅπλα. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνθωπλίσαντο, καὶ ἀριθμῷ μὲν[1] ἐλάττους ἐγένοντο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς μάχην ὥρμησαν, τὸν μὲν Πρόξενον καὶ ἄλλους ὀλίγους μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποκτείνουσι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τρεψάμενοι οὐκ ἐδίωκον· καὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὁ Στάσιππος ἦν οἷος μὴ βούλεσθαι πολλοὺς ἀποκτιννύναι τῶν
8 πολιτῶν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον ἀνακεχωρηκότες ὑπὸ τὸ πρὸς Μαντινείας τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐναντίοι ἐπεχείρουν, ἡσυχίαν εἶχον ἠθροισμένοι. καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἐπεπόμφεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς περὶ Στάσιππον διελέγοντο περὶ συναλλαγῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ Μαντινεῖς προσιόντες, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευον βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην, καὶ βοῶντες σπεύδειν διεκελεύοντο· ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνοί-
9 γουσι τὰς πύλας αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον ὡς ᾔσθοντο τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἐκπίπτουσι κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον φερούσας πύλας, καὶ φθάνουσι πρὶν καταληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων εἰς τὸν τῆς ᾿Αρτέμιδος νεὼν καταφυγόντες,[2] καὶ ἐγκλεισάμενοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. οἱ δὲ μεταδιώ-

[1] After μὲν the MSS. have οὐκ: Kel. brackets, following Dobrée. [2] καταφυγόντες MSS.: καταφεύγοντες Kel.

unite; and that whatever measure was carried in the common assembly should be binding on the several cities as well; but the followers of Stasippus made it their policy to leave their city undisturbed and to live under the laws of their fathers. Now the followers of Proxenus and Callibius, defeated in the council of the magistrates, and conceiving the thought that if the people came together they would prove far superior in numbers, gathered openly under arms. Upon seeing this the followers of Stasippus also armed themselves in their turn, and they did indeed prove fewer in number; when, however, they had set forth for battle, they killed Proxenus and a few others along with him, but although they put the rest to flight they did not pursue them; for Stasippus was the sort of man not to desire to kill many of his fellow-citizens. Then the followers of Callibius, who had retired to a position under the city wall and the gates on the side toward Mantinea, inasmuch as their adversaries were no longer attacking them, remained quietly gathered there. They had long before this sent to the Mantineans bidding them come to their aid, but with the followers of Stasippus they were negotiating for a reconciliation. When, however, the Mantineans were to be seen approaching, some of them leaped upon the wall, urged the Mantineans to come on to their assistance with all possible speed, and with shouts exhorted them to hurry; others meanwhile opened the gates to them. Now when the followers of Stasippus perceived what was going on, they rushed out by the gates leading to Pallantium, gained refuge in the temple of Artemis before they could be overtaken by their pursuers, and after shutting themselves in, remained quiet there. 370 B.C.

ξαντες ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸν νεὼν καὶ
τὴν ὀροφὴν διελόντες ἔπαιον ταῖς κεραμίσιν. οἱ
δὲ ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν τὴν ἀνάγκην, παύεσθαί τε ἐκέ-
λευον καὶ ἐξιέναι ἔφασαν. οἱ δ' ἐναντίοι ὡς
ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβον αὐτούς, δήσαντες καὶ ἀνα-
βαλόντες ἐφ' ἅμαξαν[1] ἀπήγαγον ἐς Τεγέαν. ἐκεῖ
δὲ μετὰ τῶν Μαντινέων καταγνόντες ἀπέκτειναν.
10 Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἔφυγον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
τῶν περὶ Στάσιππον Τεγεατῶν περὶ ὀκτακοσίους.
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐδόκει βοηθη-
τέον εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους τοῖς τεθνεῶσί τε τῶν
Τεγεατῶν καὶ ἐκπεπτωκόσι· καὶ οὕτω στρατεύου-
σιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας, ὡς παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους σὺν
ὅπλοις ἐληλυθότων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τεγεάτας.
καὶ φρουρὰν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι ἔφαινον, Ἀγησίλαον δ'
11 ἐκέλευεν ἡ πόλις ἡγεῖσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι
Ἀρκάδες εἰς Ἀσέαν συνελέγοντο· Ὀρχομενίων
δὲ οὐκ ἐθελόντων κοινωνεῖν τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ διὰ
τὴν πρὸς Μαντινέας ἔχθραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδεγμένων
εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ συνειλεγμένον ξενι-
κόν, οὗ Πολύτροπος ἦρχεν, ἔμενον οἴκοι οἱ Μαν-
τινεῖς τούτων ἐπιμελόμενοι· Ἡραεῖς δὲ καὶ Λε-
πρεᾶται συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ
12 τοὺς Μαντινέας. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο
αὐτῷ τὰ διαβατήρια, εὐθὺς ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρ-
καδίαν. καὶ καταλαβὼν πόλιν ὅμορον οὖσαν

[1] ἐφ' ἅμαξαν Hartman: ἐπὶ τὴν ἁρμάμαξαν MSS., followed by Kel.

But their foes who had followed after them climbed upon the temple, broke through the roof, and pelted them with the tiles. And when the people within realized the hopelessness of their situation, they bade them stop and said they would come out. Then their adversaries, as soon as they had got them in their power, bound them, threw them into a wagon, and carried them back to Tegea. There, in company with the Mantineans, they passed sentence upon them and put them to death. 370 B.C.

While these things were going on, about eight hundred of the Tegeans who were partisans of Stasippus fled to Lacedaemon as exiles, and subsequently the Lacedaemonians decided that, in accordance with their oaths, they ought to avenge the Tegeans who had been slain and to aid those who had been banished. So they decided to make an expedition against the Mantineans on the ground that, in violation of their oaths, they had proceeded in arms against the Tegeans. The ephors accordingly called out the ban, and the state directed Agesilaus to act as commander. Now most of the Arcadians were gathering together at Asea. But since the Orchomenians refused to be members of the Arcadian League on account of their enmity toward the Mantineans, and had even received into their city the mercenary force, commanded by Polytropus, which had been collected at Corinth, the Mantineans were remaining at home and keeping watch upon them. On the other hand, the Heraeans and Lepreans were serving with the Lacedaemonians against the Mantineans. Agesilaus, then, when his sacrifices at the frontier proved favourable, at once proceeded to march against Arcadia. And having

Εὔταιαν, καὶ εὑρὼν ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οἰκοῦντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ στρατευσίμῳ ἡλικίᾳ οἰχομένους εἰς τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, ὅμως οὐκ ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἴα τε αὐτοὺς οἰκεῖν, καὶ ὠνούμενοι ἐλάμβανον ὅσων δέοιντο· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἡρπάσθη, ὅτε εἰσῄει εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐξευρὼν ἀπέδωκε. καὶ ἐπῳκοδόμει δὲ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐδεῖτο, ἕωσπερ αὐτοῦ διέτριβεν ἀναμένων τοὺς μετὰ Πολυτρόπου μισθοφόρους.

13 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Μαντινεῖς στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ τείχους μάλα χαλεπῶς ἀπῆλθον, καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες αὐτῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποχωροῦντες ἐν τῇ Ἐλυμίᾳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν Ὀρχομένιοι ὁπλῖται οὐκέτι ἠκολούθουν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πολύτροπον ἐπέκειντο καὶ μάλα θρασέως, ἐνταῦθα γνόντες οἱ Μαντινεῖς ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἀποκρούσονται αὐτούς, ὅτι πολλοὶ σφῶν κατακοντισθήσονται, ὑποστρέψαντες ὁμόσε
14 ἐχώρησαν τοῖς ἐπικειμένοις. καὶ ὁ μὲν Πολύτροπος μαχόμενος αὐτοῦ ἀποθνῄσκει· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων φευγόντων πάμπολλοι ἂν ἀπέθανον, εἰ μὴ οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἱππεῖς παραγενόμενοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄπισθεν περιελάσαντες τῶν Μαντινέων ἐπέσχον αὐτοὺς τῆς διώξεως. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μαντινεῖς ταῦτα πράξαντες οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθον.

15 Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καὶ νομίσας οὐκ ἂν ἔτι συμμεῖξαι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ μισθοφόρους, οὕτω προῄει. καὶ τῇ μὲν

occupied Eutaea, which was a city on the border, 370 B.C.
and found there the older men, the women, and the children living in their houses, while the men of military age had gone to the Arcadian assembly, he nevertheless did the city no harm, but allowed the people to continue to dwell there, and his troops got everything that they needed by purchase; and if anything had been taken as booty at the time when he entered the city, he searched it out and gave it back. He also occupied himself, during the whole time that he spent there awaiting the mercenaries under Polytropus, in repairing all those portions of the city wall which needed it.

Meanwhile the Mantineans made an expedition against the Orchomenians. And they came off very badly from their attack upon the city wall, and some of them were killed; but when in their retreat they had reached Elymia and, although the Orchomenian hoplites now desisted from following them, Polytropus and his troops were very boldly pressing upon them, then the Mantineans, realizing that if they did not beat them off many of their own number would be struck down by javelins, turned about and charged their assailants. Polytropus fell fighting where he stood; the rest fled, and very many of them would have been killed had not the Phliasian horsemen arrived, and by riding around to the rear of the Mantineans made them desist from their pursuit. The Mantineans, then, after accomplishing these things, went back home.

Agesilaus heard of this affair and came to the conclusion that the mercenaries from Orchomenus could not now join him; under these circumstances, therefore, he continued his advance. On the first day

πρώτῃ ἐν τῇ Τεγεάτιδι χώρᾳ ἐδειπνοποιήσατο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ διαβαίνει εἰς τὴν Μαντινικήν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ὑπὸ τοῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν ὄρεσι τῆς Μαντινείας· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἅμα ἐδῄου τὴν χώραν καὶ ἐπόρθει τοὺς ἀγρούς. τῶν δὲ Ἀρκάδων οἱ συλλεγέντες ἐν τῇ Ἀσέᾳ νυκτὸς παρῆλθον εἰς
16 τὴν Τεγέαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἀπέχων Μαντινείας ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίους ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Τεγέας Ἀρκάδες, ἐχόμενοι τῶν μεταξὺ Μαντινείας καὶ Τεγέας ὀρῶν παρῆσαν μάλα πολλοὶ ὁπλῖται, συμμεῖξαι βουλόμενοι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι οὐ πανδημεὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἦσαν μέν τινες οἳ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἔπειθον χωρὶς τούτοις ἐπιθέσθαι· ὁ δὲ φοβούμενος μὴ ἐν ὅσῳ πρὸς ἐκείνους πορεύοιτο, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐξελθόντες κατὰ κέρας τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὄπισθεν ἐπιπέσοιεν αὐτῷ, ἔγνω κράτιστον εἶναι ἐᾶσαι συνελθεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ εἰ βούλοιντο μάχεσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ φανεροῦ τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἐγεγένηντο.
17 οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ τῶν Φλειασίων ἱππεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς διεξελθόντες παρὰ τὴν Μαντίνειαν θυομένῳ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐπιφαίνονται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἐποίησαν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἰς τὰς τάξεις δραμεῖν, Ἀγησίλαον δ' ἐπαναχωρῆσαι πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐγνώσθησαν φίλοι ὄντες, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἐκεκαλλιέρητο, ἐξ ἀρίστου προῆγε τὸ στράτευμα. ἑσπέρας δ' ἐπιγιγνομένης ἔλαθε στρατοπεδευσά-

he took dinner in the territory of Tegea, and on the following day crossed into the territory of the Mantineans and encamped at the foot of the mountains to the west of Mantinea; there at the same time he laid waste the land and plundered the farms. Meanwhile the Arcadians who had assembled at Asea made their way by night to Tegea. On the next day Agesilaus encamped at a distance of about twenty stadia from Mantinea. But the Arcadians from Tegea, a very large force of hoplites, made their appearance; they were skirting the mountains between Mantinea and Tegea, desiring to effect a junction with the Mantineans, for the Argives, who came with them, were not in full force. And there were some who tried to persuade Agesilaus to attack these troops separately; he, however, fearing that while he was marching against them the Mantineans might issue forth from their city and attack him in flank and rear, judged it best to allow the two hostile forces to come together and, in case they wished to fight, to conduct the battle in regular fashion and in the open. 370 B.C.

The Arcadians from Tegea had by now effected a junction with the Mantineans. On the other hand, the peltasts from Orchomenus, and with them the horsemen of the Phliasians, made their way during the night past Mantinea and appeared as Agesilaus was sacrificing in front of his camp at daybreak; and they caused the Lacedaemonians to fall hurriedly into line and Agesilaus himself to retire to the camp. But when they had been recognized as friends, and Agesilaus had obtained favourable omens, immediately after breakfast he led his army forward. Later, as evening was coming on, he unwittingly

μενος εἰς τὸν ὄπισθεν κόλπον τῆς Μαντινικῆς,
18 μάλα σύνεγγυς καὶ κύκλῳ ὄρη ἔχοντα. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐθύετο μὲν πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἰδὼν δὲ συλλεγομένους ἐκ τῆς τῶν Μαντινέων πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος, ἔγνω ἐξακτέον εἶναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου. εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς ἀφηγοῖτο, ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ τῇ οὐρᾷ ἐπίθοιντο οἱ πολέμιοι· ἡσυχίαν δὲ ἔχων καὶ τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους φαίνων, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἀπ' οὐρᾶς εἰς δόρυ ὄπισθεν τῆς φάλαγγος ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ οὕτως ἅμα ἔκ τε τοῦ στενοῦ ἐξῆγε καὶ ἰσχυροτέραν ἀεὶ τὴν φάλαγγα
19 ἐποιεῖτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδεδίπλωτο ἡ φάλαγξ, οὕτως ἔχοντι τῷ ὁπλιτικῷ προελθὼν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐξέτεινε πάλιν ἐπ' ἐννέα ἢ δέκα τὸ στράτευμα ἀσπίδων. οἱ μέντοι Μαντινεῖς οὐκέτι ἐξῆσαν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἠλεῖοι συστρατευόμενοι αὐτοῖς ἔπειθον μὴ ποιεῖσθαι μάχην, πρὶν οἱ Θηβαῖοι παραγένοιντο· εὖ δὲ εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι παρέσοιντο· καὶ γὰρ δέκα τάλαντα δεδανεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς παρὰ
20 σφῶν εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον ἐν τῇ Μαντινείᾳ·

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[1] The scene is a long, narrow valley. The rear (οὐρά) of the Lacedaemonian line is at the head of the valley, while the van, where Agesilaus has his position, is at the opening of the valley into the plain. The enemy are gathering upon the hills on one *side* of the valley. Agesilaus first faces his troops toward the enemy (τὰ ὅπλα . . . φαίνων). The marching line is thus transformed, technically, into a "phalanx,"

encamped in the valley which lies behind the town of Mantinea; it is surrounded by mountains which are only a short distance away. On the following day at daybreak he was offering sacrifices in front of the army; and seeing that troops were gathering from the city of the Mantineans on the mountains which were above the rear of his army, he decided that he must lead his men out of the valley with all possible speed. Now he feared that if he led the way himself, the enemy would fall upon his rear; accordingly, while keeping quiet and presenting his front toward the enemy, he ordered the men at the rear to face about to the right and march along behind the phalanx toward him. And in this manner he was at the same time leading them out of the narrow valley and making the phalanx continually stronger.[1] When the phalanx had thus been doubled in depth, he proceeded into the plain with the hoplites in this formation, and then extended the army again into a line nine or ten shields deep. The Mantineans, however, now desisted from coming forth from their city, for the Eleans, who were making the campaign with them, urged them not to fight a battle until the Thebans arrived; and they said they were quite sure that the Thebans would come, for they had borrowed ten talents from the Eleans themselves for the expenses of the expedition to aid them. The Arcadians, then, upon hearing this, remained quiet in Mantinea; 370 B.C.

or line of battle. Then, by the ἀναστροφή (see note on ii. 21), the οὐρά, *i.e.* the original rear of the marching line, is folded back and gradually drawn out, "behind the phalanx," to the open end of the valley. The entire army now marches out into the plain. There the process just described is reversed, so bringing the line back to its original form.

ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος καὶ μάλα βουλόμενος ἀπάγειν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ γὰρ ἦν μέσος χειμών, ὅμως ἐκεῖ κατέμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας, οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων τῆς Μαντινέων πόλεως, ὅπως μὴ δοκοίη φοβούμενος σπεύδειν τὴν ἄφοδον. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ πρῴ ἀριστοποιησάμενος ἀπῆγεν ὡς στρατοπεδευσόμενος ἔνθαπερ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐταίας
21 ἐξώρμητο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετο τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἦγε τὴν ταχίστην εἰς τὴν Εὔταιαν, καίπερ μάλα ὀψίζων, βουλόμενος ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς ὁπλίτας πρὶν καὶ τὰ πυρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἰδεῖν, ἵνα μή τις εἴποι ὡς φεύγων ἀπαγάγοι. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς πρόσθεν ἀθυμίας ἐδόκει τι ἀνειληφέναι τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι καὶ ἐνεβεβλήκει εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ δῃοῦντι τὴν χώραν οὐδεὶς ἠθελήκει μάχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν Σπαρτιάτας ἀπέλυσεν οἴκαδε, τοὺς δὲ περιοίκους ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις.

22 Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ἐπεὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεληλύθει καὶ ᾔσθοντο διαλελυμένον αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἠθροισμένοι ἐτύγχανον, στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡραιᾶς, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἤθελον τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ μετέχειν καὶ ὅτι συνεισεβεβλήκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐμβαλόντες δ' ἐνεπίμπρων τε τὰς οἰκίας καὶ ἔκοπτον τὰ δένδρα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι βεβοηθηκότες παρεῖναι ἐλέγοντο εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, οὕτως ἀπαλλάττονται ἐκ τῆς Ἡραίας καὶ συμμιγνύουσι τοῖς

and Agesilaus, even though he was exceedingly desirous of leading back his army—for it was mid-winter—nevertheless remained there for three days, not far away from the city of the Mantineans, that he might not be thought to be hurrying his departure out of fear. On the fourth day, however, after breakfasting early he began his homeward march, intending to encamp at the place where he had originally made camp on his departure from Eutaea. But since none of the Arcadians appeared, he continued his march as rapidly as possible to Eutaea, even though it was very late, with the desire of getting his hoplites away before they even saw the enemy's fires, so that no one could say that he had withdrawn in flight. For he seemed to have brought the state some relief from its former despondency, inasmuch as he had invaded Arcadia and, though he laid waste the land, none had been willing to fight with him. And after he had arrived in Laconia, he let the Spartiatae go home and dismissed the Perioeci to their several cities. 370 B.C.

As for the Arcadians, since Agesilaus had departed and they learned that his army had been disbanded, while they themselves were still gathered together, they made an expedition against the Heráeans, not only because they refused to be members of the Arcadian League, but also because they had joined with the Lacedaemonians in invading Arcadia. And after entering the territory of Heraea they proceeded to burn the houses and cut down the trees.

It was not until the Thebans with their supporting force were reported to have arrived in Mantinea that the Arcadians departed from Heraea and united

23 *Θηβαίοις. ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι καλῶς σφίσιν ᾤοντο ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν μέν, πολέμιον δὲ οὐδένα ἔτι ἑώρων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἀπιέναι παρεσκευάζοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἠλεῖοι ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Λακωνικήν, ἐπιδεικνύοντες μὲν τὸ ἑαυτῶν πλῆθος, ὑπερεπαινοῦντες δὲ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ ἐγυμνάζοντο πάντες περὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις νίκῃ· ἠκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκεῖς ὑπήκοοι γεγενημένοι καὶ Εὐβοεῖς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ Λοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ Μηλιεῖς· ἠκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πελτασταί. ταῦτα δὴ συνιδόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐρημίαν λέγοντες ἱκέτευον μηδαμῶς ἀποτρέπεσθαι, πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν.*

24 *Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἤκουον μὲν ταῦτα, ἀντελογίζοντο δὲ ὅτι δυσεμβολωτάτη μὲν ἡ Λακωνικὴ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, φρουρὰς δὲ καθεστάναι ἐνόμιζον ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐπροσοδωτάτοις. καὶ γὰρ ἦν Ἰσχόλαος μὲν ἐν Οἰῷ τῆς Σκιρίτιδος, ἔχων νεοδαμώδεις τε φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν Τεγεατῶν φυγάδων τοὺς νεωτάτους περὶ τετρακοσίους· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Λεύκτρῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαλεάτιδος ἄλλη φρουρά. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὡς καὶ συνελθοῦσαν ἂν ταχέως τὴν τῶν Λακε-*

with the Thebans. When they had joined forces, the Thebans thought that matters stood well with them, inasmuch as they had come to bring aid and there was no longer an enemy to be seen in the land; they accordingly made their preparations for going back. But the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans urged them to lead the way with all speed into Laconia, pointing out the number of their own troops[1] and praising beyond measure the army of the Thebans. For all the Boeotians were now training themselves in the craft of arms, glorying in their victory at Leuctra; and they were reinforced by the Phocians, who had become their subjects, the Euboeans from all their cities, both the Locrian peoples,[2] the Acarnanians, the Heracleots, and the Malians; they were also reinforced by horsemen and peltasts from Thessaly. The Arcadians, then, seeing all this and describing the dearth of men in Lacedaemon, begged them by no means to turn back before invading the country of the Lacedaemonians. 370 B.C.

But while the Thebans listened to this request, they took into account, on the other hand, the fact that Laconia was said to be exceedingly difficult to enter, and that they believed garrisons were posted at the points of easiest access. For Ischolaus was at Oeum, in Sciritis, commanding a garrison composed of emancipated Helots and about four hundred of the youngest of the Tegean exiles; and there was another garrison also at Leuctrum, above Maleatis. The Thebans likewise weighed this consideration, that the force of the Lacedaemonians would gather

[1] The Theban army according to Plutarch (*Ages.* 31) numbered 40,000 hoplites, while Diodorus (xv. 62) puts the combined forces at more than 70,000 men.

[2] *cp.* IV. ii. 17.

δαιμονίων δύναμιν καὶ μάχεσθαι ἂν αὐτοὺς οὐ-
δαμοῦ ἄμεινον ἢ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν. ἃ δὴ πάντα
λογιζόμενοι οὐ πάνυ προπετεῖς ἦσαν εἰς τὸ ἰέναι
25 εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἧκον ἔκ τε
Καρυῶν λέγοντες τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ ὑπισχνούμενοι
αὐτοὶ ἡγήσεσθαι, καὶ κελεύοντες, ἄν τι ἐξαπατῶν-
τες φαίνωνται, ἀποσφάττειν σφᾶς, παρῆσαν δέ
τινες καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἐπικαλούμενοι καὶ φά-
σκοντες ἀποστήσεσθαι, εἰ μόνον φανείησαν εἰς
τὴν χώραν, ἔλεγον δὲ ὡς καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι οἱ
περίοικοι ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐκ ἐθέλοιεν
βοηθεῖν· πάντα οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούοντες καὶ παρὰ
πάντων οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπείσθησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν
κατὰ Καρύας ἐνέβαλον, οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες κατὰ
Οἰὸν τῆς Σκιρίτιδος.
26 Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δύσβατα προελθὼν ὁ
Ἰσχόλαος ὑφίστατο, οὐδένα ἂν ταύτῃ γε ἔφασαν
ἀναβῆναι· νῦν δὲ βουλόμενος τοῖς Οἰάταις
συμμάχοις χρῆσθαι, ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ· οἱ
δὲ ἀνέβησαν παμπληθεῖς Ἀρκάδες. ἐνταῦθα
δὴ ἀντιπρόσωποι μὲν μαχόμενοι οἱ περὶ τὸν
Ἰσχόλαον ἐπεκράτουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὄπισθεν καὶ
ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀναβαίνοντες
ἔπαιον καὶ ἔβαλλον αὐτούς, ἐνταῦθα ὅ τε Ἰσχό-
λαος ἀποθνῄσκει καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, εἰ μή τις
27 ἀμφιγνοηθεὶς διέφυγε. διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα
οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπὶ
τὰς Καρύας. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο τὰ
πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, πολὺ δὴ θρασύ-

quickly and that they would fight nowhere better than in their own country. Therefore, taking into account all these things, they were by no means eager to proceed into Lacedaemon. But when people had come from Caryae telling of the dearth of men, promising that they would themselves act as guides, and bidding the Thebans slay them if they were found to be practising any deception, and when, further, some of the Perioeci appeared, asking the Thebans to come to their aid, engaging to revolt if only they would show themselves in the land, and saying also that even now the Perioeci when summoned by the Spartiatae were refusing to go and help them—as a result, then, of hearing all these reports, in which all agreed, the Thebans were won over, and pushed in with their own forces by way of Caryae, while the Arcadians went by way of Oeum, in Sciritis. 370 B.C.

Now if Ischolaus had advanced to the difficult part of the pass and had made his stand there, no one, by all accounts, could have accomplished the ascent by that route at least; but in fact, since he wished to employ the Oeans as allies, he remained in the village, and the Arcadians ascended the pass in very great numbers. There, in the face-to-face fighting, the troops with Ischolaus were victorious; but when the enemy showered blows and missiles upon them from the rear, on the flank, and from the houses upon which they mounted, then Ischolaus was killed and all the rest as well, unless one or another slipped through unrecognized. After achieving this deed the Arcadians marched to join the Thebans at Caryae; and when the Thebans heard what had been accomplished by the Arcadians, they proceeded to

τερον κατέβαινον. καὶ τὴν μὲν Σελλασίαν εὐθὺς ἔκαον καὶ ἐπόρθουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο.

Καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς γεφύρας οὐδ' ἐπεχείρουν διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀλέας ἱερῷ ἐφαίνοντο ἐναντίοι οἱ ὁπλῖται. ἐν δεξιᾷ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν Εὐρώταν παρῇσαν κάοντες καὶ πορ-
28 θοῦντες πολλῶν κἀγαθῶν μεστὰς οἰκίας. τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες οὐδὲ τὸν καπνὸν ὁρῶσαι ἠνείχοντο, ἅτε οὐδέποτε ἰδοῦσαι πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ Σπαρτιᾶται ἀτείχιστον ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλος ἄλλῃ διαταχθείς, μάλα ὀλίγοι καὶ ὄντες καὶ φαινόμενοι ἐφύλαττον. ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς τέλεσι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς Εἵλωσιν, εἴ τις βούλοιτο ὅπλα λαμβάνειν καὶ εἰς τάξιν τίθεσθαι, τὰ πιστὰ λαμβάνειν ὡς ἐλευθέρους ἐσομένους ὅσοι συμ-
29 πολεμήσαιεν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφασαν ἀπογράψασθαι πλέον ἢ ἑξακισχιλίους, ὥστε φόβον αὖ οὗτοι παρεῖχον συντεταγμένοι καὶ λίαν ἐδόκουν πολλοὶ εἶναι· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἔμενον μὲν οἱ ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ μισθοφόροι, ἐβοήθησαν δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις Φλειάσιοί τε καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Πελληνεῖς καὶ ἄλλαι δέ τινες τῶν πόλεων, ἤδη καὶ τοὺς ἀπογεγραμμένους ἧττον ὠρρώδουν.

30 Ὡς δὲ προϊὸν τὸ στράτευμα ἐγένετο κατ' Ἀμύκλας, ταύτῃ διέβαινον τὸν Εὐρώταν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι, ὅπου στρατοπεδεύοιντο, εὐθὺς

make the descent with far greater boldness. Coming to Sellasia, they at once burned and pillaged it; but when they arrived in the plain, they encamped there, in the sacred precinct of Apollo. The next day they marched on. 370 B.C.

Now they did not even make the attempt to cross over by the bridge against Sparta, for in the sanctuary of Athena Alea the hoplites were to be seen, ready to oppose them; but keeping the Eurotas on their right they passed along, burning and plundering houses full of many valuable things. As for the people in the city, the women could not even endure the sight of the smoke, since they had never seen an enemy; but the Spartiatae, their city being without walls, were posted at intervals, one here, another there, and so kept guard, though they were, and were seen to be, very few in number. It was also determined by the authorities to make proclamation to the Helots that if any wished to take up arms and be assigned to a place in the ranks, they should be given a promise that all should be free who took part in the war. And it was said that at first more than six thousand enrolled themselves, so that they in their turn occasioned fear when they were marshalled together, and were thought to be all too numerous; but when the mercenaries from Orchomenus remained true, and the Lacedaemonians received aid from the Phliasians, Corinthians, Epidaurians, Pelleneans, and likewise some of the other states, then the Spartiatae were less fearful of those who had been enrolled.

Now when, in its onward march, the army of the enemy came opposite Amyclae, at this point they crossed the Eurotas. And wherever the Thebans encamped they at once threw down in front of their

ὧν ἔκοπτον δένδρων κατέβαλλον πρὸ τῶν τά-
ξεων ὡς ἐδύναντο πλεῖστα, καὶ οὕτως ἐφυλάτ-
τοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες τούτων τε οὐδὲν ἐποίουν,
καταλείποντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα εἰς ἁρπαγὴν ἐπὶ τὰς
οἰκίας ἐτρέποντο.[1] ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ ἢ
τετάρτῃ προῆλθον οἱ ἱππεῖς εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον
εἰς Γαιαόχου κατὰ τάξεις, οἵ τε Θηβαῖοι πάντες
καὶ οἱ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ ὅσοι Φωκέων ἢ Θετταλῶν ἢ
31 Λοκρῶν ἱππεῖς παρῆσαν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαι-
μονίων ἱππεῖς, μάλα ὀλίγοι φαινόμενοι, ἀντιτε-
ταγμένοι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν. ἐνέδραν δὲ ποιήσαντες
ὁπλιτῶν τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσον τριακοσίων ἐν τῇ
τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν, ἅμα οὗτοι μὲν ἐξέθεον, οἱ δ'
ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο,
ἀλλ' ἐνέκλιναν. ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα πολλοὶ καὶ
τῶν πεζῶν εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἵ
τε διώκοντες ἐπαύσαντο καὶ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων
στράτευμα ἔμενε, πάλιν δὴ κατεστρατοπεδεύ-
32 σαντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν μὴ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβα-
λεῖν ἂν ἔτι αὐτοὺς ἤδη τι ἐδόκει θαρραλεώτερον
εἶναι· ἐκεῖθεν μέντοι ἀπᾶραν τὸ στράτευμα
ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἐφ' Ἕλος καὶ Γύθειον. καὶ τὰς
μὲν ἀτειχίστους τῶν πόλεων ἐνεπίμπρασαν,
Γυθείῳ δέ, ἔνθα τὰ νεώρια τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
ἦν, καὶ προσέβαλλον τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἦσαν δέ τινες
τῶν περιοίκων οἳ καὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ συνεστρα-
τεύοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θηβαίων.

[1] ἐτρέποντο MSS. except B: ἐτράποντο Kel. with B.

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[1] See note on iii. 6.

[2] A most striking indication of Xenophon's pro-Spartan feeling (see Introd. p. x) is found in the fact that he here omits all reference to the greatest of the humiliations which Sparta suffered at this time: (1) the re-establishment by Epaminondas, the Theban general, of the independence of

lines the greatest possible quantity of the trees which 370 B.C. they cut down, and in this way guarded themselves; the Arcadians, however, did nothing of this sort, but left their camp behind them and turned their attention to plundering the houses. After this, on the third or fourth day of the invasion, the horsemen advanced to the race-course in the sanctuary of Poseidon Gaeaochus by divisions, the Thebans in full force, the Eleans, and all the horsemen who were there of the Phocians, Thessalians, or Locrians. And the horsemen of the Lacedaemonians, seemingly very few in number, were formed in line against them. Meanwhile the Lacedaemonians had set an ambush of the younger hoplites, about three hundred in number, in the house of the Tyndaridae,[1] and at the same moment these men rushed forth and their horsemen charged. The enemy, however, did not await their attack, but gave way. And on seeing this, many of the foot-soldiers also took to flight. But when the pursuers stopped and the army of the Thebans stood firm, the enemy encamped again. It now seemed somewhat more certain that they would make no further attempt upon the city; and in fact their army departed thence and took the road toward Helos and Gytheium. And they burned such of the towns as were unwalled and made a three days' attack upon Gytheium, where the Lacedaemonians had their dockyards. There were some of the Perioeci also who not only joined in this attack, but did regular service with the troops that followed the Thebans.[2]

Messenia, which for centuries had been subject to the Spartans; and (2) the founding of "the great city," Megalopolis, as the capital of an independent Arcadia. Nevertheless, Xenophon alludes several times in the following book to the *accomplished fact* of Messenian independence and to Megalopolis.

33 Ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν φροντίδι
ἦσαν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ
ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν κατὰ δόγμα βουλῆς. ἔτυχον
δὲ παρόντες πρέσβεις Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ τῶν
ἔτι ὑπολοίπων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν δὴ οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἄρακος καὶ Ὤκυλλος καὶ Φάραξ
καὶ Ἐτυμοκλῆς καὶ Ὀλονθεὺς σχεδὸν πάντες
παραπλήσια ἔλεγον. ἀνεμίμνῃσκόν τε γὰρ τοὺς
Ἀθηναίους ὡς ἀεί ποτε ἀλλήλοις ἐν τοῖς μεγί-
στοις καιροῖς παρίσταντο ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς· αὐτοί τε
γὰρ ἔφασαν τοὺς τυράννους συνεκβαλεῖν Ἀθή-
νηθεν, καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἐπολιορκοῦντο
34 ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων, προθύμως βοηθεῖν. ἔλεγον δὲ
καὶ ὅσ' ἀγαθὰ εἴη, ὅτε κοινῶς ἀμφότεροι ἔπραττ-
τον, ὑπομιμνῄσκοντες μὲν ὡς τὸν βάρβαρον κοινῇ
ἀπεμαχέσαντο, ἀναμιμνῄσκοντες δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοί
τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ᾑρέθησαν ἡγεμόνες τοῦ
ναυτικοῦ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων φύλακες, τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συμβουλομένων, αὐτοί τε
κατὰ γῆν ὁμολογουμένως ὑφ' ἁπάντων τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων ἡγεμόνες προκριθείησαν, συμβουλομένων
35 αὖ ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. εἷς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὧδέ
πως εἶπεν· Ἐὰν δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες,
ὁμονοήσωμεν, νῦν ἐλπὶς τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον
δεκατευθῆναι Θηβαίους. οἱ μέντοι Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ
πάνυ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ θροῦς τις τοιοῦτος διῆλθεν

[1] The house of the Peisistratidae, in 511 B.C.
[2] In the so-called Third Messenian War, 464–455 B.C.

When the Athenians heard of all these things, they were in a state of concern as to what they should do in regard to the Lacedaemonians, and by resolution of the Senate they called a meeting of the Assembly. Now it chanced that there were present ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians and of the allies who still remained to them. Wherefore the Lacedaemonians spoke—Aracus, Ocyllus, Pharax, Etymocles, and Olontheus—almost all of them saying much the same things. They reminded the Athenians that from all time the two peoples had stood by one another in the most important crises for good ends; for they on their side, they said, had aided in expelling the tyrants[1] from Athens, while the Athenians, on the other hand, gave them zealous assistance at the time when they were hard pressed by the Messenians.[2] They also described all the blessings which were enjoyed at the time when both peoples were acting in union, recalling how they had together driven the barbarian back, recalling likewise how the Athenians had been chosen by the Greeks as leaders of the fleet and custodians of the common funds,[3] the Lacedaemonians supporting this choice, while they had themselves been selected by the common consent of all the Greeks as leaders by land, the Athenians in their turn supporting this selection. And one of them even said something like this: "But if you and we, gentlemen, come to agreement, there is hope now that the Thebans will be decimated, as the old saying has it." The Athenians, however, were not very much inclined to accept all this, and a murmur went round to the effect that 370 B.C.

[3] Referring to the formation of the Confederacy of Delos, 477 B.C.

ὡς νῦν ταῦτα λέγοιεν, ὅτε δὲ εὖ ἔπραττον, ἐπέκειντο ἡμῖν. μέγιστον δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι ἡνίκα κατεπολέμησαν αὐτούς, Θηβαίων βουλομένων ἀναστάτους ποιῆσαι τὰς Ἀθήνας, σφεῖς ἐμποδὼν γένοιντο.

36 ὁ δὲ πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος ὡς κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους βοηθεῖν δέοι· οὐ γὰρ ἀδικησάντων σφῶν ἐπιστρατεύοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀλλὰ βοηθησάντων τοῖς Τεγεάταις, ὅτι οἱ Μαντινεῖς παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς. διέθει οὖν καὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς λόγους θόρυβος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ δικαίως τοὺς Μαντινέας ἔφασαν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ Πρόξενον ἀποθανοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Στάσιππον, οἱ δὲ ἀδικεῖν, ὅτι ὅπλα ἐπήνεγκαν Τεγεάταις.

37 Τούτων δὲ διοριζομένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνέστη Κλειτέλης Κορίνθιος καὶ εἶπε τάδε· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἴσως ἀντιλέγεται, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ἄρξαντες ἀδικεῖν· ἡμῶν δέ, ἐπεὶ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, ἔχει τις κατηγορῆσαι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ πόλιν τινὰ ἐστρατεύσαμεν ἢ ὡς χρήματά τινων ἐλάβομεν ἢ ὡς γῆν ἀλλοτρίαν ἐδῃώσαμεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ Θηβαῖοι εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐλθόντες καὶ δένδρα ἐκκεκόφασι καὶ οἰκίας κατακεκαύκασι καὶ χρήματα καὶ πρόβατα διηρπάκασι. πῶς οὖν, ἐὰν μὴ βοηθῆτε οὕτω περιφανῶς ἡμῖν ἀδικουμένοις, οὐ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ποιήσετε; καὶ

"this is what they say now, but in the time when they were prosperous they were hostile to us." The weightiest of the arguments urged by the Lacedaemonians seemed to their hearers to be, that at the time when they subdued the Athenians, though the Thebans wanted to destroy Athens utterly, it was they who had prevented it. Most stress was laid, however, upon the consideration that the Athenians were required by their oaths to come to their assistance; for it was not because the Lacedaemonians had done wrong that the Arcadians and those with them were making an expedition against them, but rather because they had gone to the aid of the Tegeans for the reason that the Mantineans, in violation of their oaths, had taken the field against them. At these words an uproar again ran through the Assembly; for some said that the Mantineans had done right in avenging the followers of Proxenus who had been slain by the followers of Stasippus, while others said that they were in the wrong because they had taken up arms against the Tegeans. 370 B.C.

While the Assembly itself was trying to determine these matters, Cleïteles, a Corinthian, arose and spoke as follows: "Men of Athens, it is perhaps a disputed point who began the wrong-doing; but as for us, can anyone accuse us of having, at any time since peace was concluded, either made a campaign against any city, or taken anyone's property, or laid waste another's land? Yet, nevertheless, the Thebans have come into our country, and have cut down trees, and burned down houses, and seized property and cattle. If, therefore, you do not aid us, who are so manifestly wronged, will you not surely be acting in violation of your oaths? They were the same oaths,

ταῦτα ὧν αὐτοὶ ἐπεμελήθητε ὅρκων ὅπως πᾶσιν ὑμῖν πάντες ἡμεῖς ὀμόσαιμεν; ἐνταῦθα μέντοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεθορύβησαν ὡς ὀρθῶς τε καὶ δίκαια εἰρηκότος τοῦ Κλειτέλους.

38 Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἀνέστη Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος καὶ εἶπεν· Ὅτι μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐκποδὼν γένοιντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπὶ πρώτους ἂν ὑμᾶς στρατεύσαιεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πᾶσιν οἶμαι τοῦτο δῆλον εἶναι. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων μόνους ἂν ὑμᾶς οἴονται ἐμποδὼν γενέσθαι τοῦ ἄρξαι αὐ-
39 τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. εἰ δ' οὕτως ἔχει, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦμαι στρατεύσαντας βοηθῆσαι ἢ καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. τὸ γὰρ δυσμενεῖς ὄντας ὑμῖν Θηβαίους καὶ ὁμόρους οἰκοῦντας ἡγεμόνας γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολὺ οἶμαι χαλεπώτερον ἂν ὑμῖν φανῆναι ἢ ὁπότε πόρρω τοὺς ἀντιπάλους εἴχετε. συμφορώτερόν γε μεντἂν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσαιτε ἐν ᾧ ἔτι εἰσὶν οἳ συμμαχοῖεν ἂν ἢ εἰ ἀπολομένων αὐτῶν μόνοι ἀναγκάζοισθε διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους.

40 Εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῦνται μὴ ἐὰν νῦν ἀναφύγωσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἔτι ποτὲ πράγματα παρέχωσιν ὑμῖν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι οὐχ οὓς ἂν εὖ ἀλλ' οὓς ἂν κακῶς τις ποιῇ φοβεῖσθαι δεῖ μή ποτε μέγα δυνασθῶσιν. ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τάδε χρή, ὅτι κτᾶσθαι μέν τι ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ πόλεσι προσήκει, ὅταν ἐρρωμενέστατοι ὦσιν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν, ἐάν ποτ' ἀδύνατοι γένωνται, ἐπικουρίαν

you remember, that you yourselves took care to have all of us swear to all of you." Thereupon the Athenians shouted their approval, saying that Cleiteles had spoken to the point and fairly. 370 B.C.

Then Procles, a Phliasian, arose after Cleiteles and said: "Men of Athens, it is clear to everyone, I imagine, that you are the first against whom the Thebans would march if the Lacedaemonians were got out of the way; for they think that you are the only people in Greece who would stand in the way of their becoming rulers of the Greeks. If this is so, I, for my part, believe that if you undertake a campaign, you would not be giving aid to the Lacedaemonians so much as to your own selves. For to have the Thebans, who are unfriendly to you and dwell on your borders, become leaders of the Greeks, would prove much more grievous to you, I think, than when you had your antagonists far away. Furthermore, you would aid yourselves with more profit if you should do so while there are still people who would fight on your side, than if they should perish first and you should then be compelled to enter by yourselves upon a decisive struggle with the Thebans.

"Now if any are fearful that in case the Lacedaemonians escape this time, they may again in the future cause you trouble, take thought of this, that it is not those whom one benefits, but those whom one injures, of whom one has to fear that they may some day attain great power. And you should bear in mind this likewise, that it is meet both for individuals and for states to acquire a goodly store in the days when they are strongest, in order that, if some day they become powerless, they may draw

41 τῶν προπεπονημένων. ὑμῖν δὲ νῦν ἐκ θεῶν τινος
καιρὸς παραγεγένηται, ἐὰν δεομένοις βοηθήσητε
Λακεδαιμονίοις, κτήσασθαι τούτους εἰς τὸν
ἅπαντα χρόνον φίλους ἀπροφασίστους. καὶ γὰρ
δὴ οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγων μοι δοκοῦσι μαρτύρων νῦν ἂν εὖ
παθεῖν ὑφ' ὑμῶν· ἀλλ' εἴσονται μὲν ταῦτα θεοὶ οἱ
πάντα ὁρῶντες καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς ἀεί, συνεπίστανται
δὲ τὰ γιγνόμενα οἵ τε σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι,
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἅπαντες Ἕλληνές τε καὶ βάρ-
42 βαροι. οὐδενὶ γὰρ τούτων ἀμελές. ὥστε εἰ κακοὶ
φανείησαν περὶ ὑμᾶς, τίς ἄν ποτε ἔτι πρόθυμος εἰς
αὐτοὺς γένοιτο; ἐλπίζειν δὲ χρὴ ὡς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς
μᾶλλον ἢ κακοὺς αὐτοὺς γενήσεσθαι· εἰ γάρ τινες
ἄλλοι, καὶ οὗτοι δοκοῦσι διατετελεκέναι ἐπαίνου
μὲν ὀρεγόμενοι, αἰσχρῶν δὲ ἔργων ἀπεχόμενοι.
43 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐνθυμήθητε καὶ τάδε. εἴ ποτε
πάλιν ἔλθοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι κίνδυνος ὑπὸ βαρβάρων,
τίσιν ἂν μᾶλλον πιστεύσαιτε ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις;
τίνας δὲ ἂν παραστάτας ἥδιον τούτων ποιήσαισθε,
ὧν γε καὶ οἱ ταχθέντες ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἅπαντες
εἵλοντο μαχόμενοι ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶντες
ἐπεισφρέσθαι τὸν βάρβαρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι; πῶς
οὖν οὐ δίκαιον ὧν τε ἕνεκα ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ
μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ ὧν ἐλπὶς καὶ αὖθις γενέσθαι
πᾶσαν προθυμίαν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡμᾶς
παρέχεσθαι;

44 Ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τῶν παρόντων συμμάχων αὐ-
τοῖς[1] ἕνεκα προθυμίαν ἐνδείξασθαι. εὖ γὰρ

[1] αὐτοῖς MSS.: Kel. brackets.

upon their previous labours for succour. So to you has now been offered by some god an opportunity, in case you aid the Lacedaemonians in their need, of acquiring them for all time as friends who will plead no excuses. For it is not in the presence of only a few witnesses, as it seems to me, that they would now receive benefit at your hands, but the gods will know of this, who see all things both now and for ever, and both your allies and your enemies know also what is taking place, and the whole world of Greeks and barbarians besides. For to none of them all is it a matter of indifference. Therefore, if the Lacedaemonians should show themselves base in their dealings with you, who would ever again become devoted to them? But it is fair to expect that they will prove good rather than base men, for if any people in the world seem consistently to have striven for commendation and to have abstained from deeds of shame, it is truly they. Besides all this, take thought of the following considerations likewise. If ever again danger should come to Greece from barbarians, whom would you trust more than the Lacedaemonians? Whom would you more gladly make your comrades in the ranks than these, whose countrymen, posted at Thermopylae, chose every man to die fighting rather than to live and admit the barbarian to Greece? Therefore, both because they proved themselves brave men along with you, and because there is hope that they will so prove themselves again, is it not surely right that you and we alike should show all good-will toward them? 370 B.C.

"It is also worth while to show the Lacedaemonians good-will for the sake of the allies who are present with them. For be well assured that those who

ἴστε ὅτι οἵπερ τούτοις πιστοὶ διαμένουσιν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς, οὗτοι καὶ ὑμῖν αἰσχύνοιντ' ἂν μὴ ἀποδιδόντες χάριτας. εἰ δὲ μικραὶ δοκοῦμεν πόλεις εἶναι αἱ τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχειν αὐτοῖς ἐθέλουσαι, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις προσγένηται, οὐκέτι μικραὶ πόλεις ἐσόμεθα αἱ
45 βοηθοῦσαι αὐτοῖς. ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρόσθεν μὲν ἀκούων ἐζήλουν τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ὅτι πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους ἐνθάδε καταφεύγοντας ἐπικουρίας ἤκουον τυγχάνειν· νῦν δ' οὐκέτ' ἀκούω, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἤδη παρὼν ὁρῶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους φίλους αὐτῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τε ἥκοντας καὶ δεομένους
46 αὖ ὑμῶν ἐπικουρῆσαι. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ Θηβαίους, οἳ τότε οὐκ ἔπεισαν Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι ὑμᾶς, νῦν δεομένους ὑμῶν περιιδεῖν[1] ἀπολομένους τοὺς σώσαντας ὑμᾶς.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν ὑμετέρων προγόνων καλὸν λέγεται, ὅτε τοὺς Ἀργείων τελευτήσαντας ἐπὶ τῇ Καδμείᾳ οὐκ εἴασαν ἀτάφους γενέσθαι· ὑμῖν δὲ πολὺ κάλλιον ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας Λακεδαιμονίων μήτε ὑβρισθῆναι μήτε ἀπολέσθαι
47 ἐάσαιτε. καλοῦ γε μὴν κἀκείνου ὄντος, ὅτε σχόντες τὴν Εὐρυσθέως ὕβριν διεσώσατε τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας, πῶς οὐ καὶ ἐκείνου τόδε κάλλιον, εἰ μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν περισώσαιτε; πάντων δὲ κάλ-

[1] See § 35 above, and *cp.* note on iii. 13.

remain faithful to them in their misfortunes are the very men who would be ashamed if they did not make due requital to you. And if we who are willing to share the peril with them seem to be small states, reflect that if your state is added to our number, we who aid them shall no longer be small states. In former days, men of Athens, I used from hearsay to admire this state of yours, for I heard that all who were wronged and all who were fearful fled hither for refuge, and here found assistance; now I no longer hear, but with my own eyes at this moment see the Lacedaemonians, those most famous men, and their most loyal friends appearing in your state and in their turn requesting you to assist them. I see also the Thebans, who then[1] did not succeed in persuading the Lacedaemonians to enslave you, now requesting you to allow those who saved you to perish. 370 B.C.

"It is truly a noble deed that is told of your ancestors, when they did not suffer those Argives who died at the Cadmea to go unburied;[2] but you would achieve a far nobler deed if you did not suffer those Lacedaemonians who still live either to incur insult or to perish. And while that other deed was also noble, when you checked the insolence of Eurystheus and preserved the sons of Heracles,[3] would it not surely be an even nobler one if you saved from perishing, not merely the founders, but the whole state as well? And noblest of all deeds

[2] After the defeat of the legendary expedition of the "Seven against Thebes" it was only the intervention of the Athenians which compelled the Thebans to permit the burial of the enemy's dead.

[3] The sons of Heracles, driven from Peloponnesus by Eurystheus, found protection and aid at Athens.

λιστον, εἰ ψήφῳ ἀκινδύνῳ σωσάντων ὑμᾶς τότε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, νῦν ὑμεῖς σὺν ὅπλοις τε καὶ
48 διὰ κινδύνων ἐπικουρήσετε αὐτοῖς. ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀγαλλόμεθα οἱ[1] συναγορεύοντες βοηθῆσαι ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἦ που ὑμῖν γε τοῖς ἔργῳ δυναμένοις βοηθῆσαι γενναῖα ἂν ταῦτα φανείη, εἰ πολλάκις καὶ φίλοι καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοις μὴ ὧν ἐβλάβητε μᾶλλον ἢ ὧν εὖ ἐπάθετε μνησθείητε καὶ χάριν ἀποδοίητε αὐτοῖς μὴ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο.

49 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀντιλεγόντων οὐκ ἠνείχοντο ἀκούοντες, ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ βοηθεῖν πανδημεί, καὶ Ἰφικράτην στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο καὶ παρήγγειλεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, πολλοὺς ἔφασαν προτέρους αὐτοῦ Ἰφικράτους ἐξελθεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἡγεῖτο μὲν ὁ Ἰφικράτης, οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν, νομίζοντες ἐπὶ καλόν τι ἔργον ἡγήσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Κόρινθον διέτριβέ τινας ἡμέρας, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ διατριβῇ πρῶτον ἔψεγον αὐτόν· ὡς δ' ἐξήγαγέ ποτε, προθύμως μὲν ἠκολούθουν ὅποι ἡγοῖτο, προθύμως δ',
50 εἰ πρὸς τεῖχος προσάγοι, προσέβαλλον. τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πολεμίων Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἠλεῖοι πολλοὶ ἀπεληλύθεσαν, ἅτε ὅμοροι οἰκοῦντες, οἱ μὲν ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ φέροντες

[1] οἱ MSS.: Kel. brackets.

if, after the Lacedaemonians saved you then by a vote, void of danger, you shall aid them now with arms and at the risk of your lives. Again, when even we, who by word urge you to aid brave men, are proud of doing so, it would manifestly be generous of you, who are able to aid by act, if, after being many times both friends and enemies of the Lacedaemonians, you should recall, not the harm you have suffered at their hands, but rather the favours which you have received, and should render them requital, not in behalf of yourselves alone, but also in behalf of all Greece, because in her behalf they proved themselves brave men." 370 B.C.

After this the Athenians deliberated, and they would not endure to listen to those who spoke on the other side, but voted to go to the aid of the Lacedaemonians in full force, and chose Iphicrates as general. And when his sacrifices had proved favourable and he had issued orders to his men to dine in the Academy,[1] many, it is said, went thither ahead of Iphicrates himself. After this Iphicrates led the way and they followed, believing that he would lead them to some noble achievement. And when, after arriving in Corinth, he delayed there for some days, they at once began to censure him, for the first time, for this delay; then when he at length marched them forth, they eagerly followed wherever he led the way, and eagerly attacked any stronghold against which he brought them. As for the enemy in Lacedaemon, many Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans had already departed, inasmuch as they lived just across the border, some of them leading and others

[1] *cp.* II. ii. 8.

ὅ τι ἡρπάκεσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπιέναι ἐβούλοντο ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἑώρων ἐλάττονα τὴν στρατιὰν καθ' ἡμέραν γιγνομένην, τὰ δέ, ὅτι σπανιώτερα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνήλωτο, τὰ δὲ διήρπαστο, τὰ δὲ ἐξεκέχυτο, τὰ δὲ κατεκέκαυτο· πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ χειμὼν ἦν, ὥστ' ἤδη πάντες ἀπιέναι
51 ἐβούλοντο. ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἰφικράτης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπῆγεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἰς Κόρινθον. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι καλῶς ἐστρατήγησεν, οὐ ψέγω. ἐκεῖνα μέντοι ἃ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκείνῳ ἔπραξε, πάντα εὑρίσκω τὰ μὲν μάτην, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσυμφόρως πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ. ἐπιχειρήσας μὲν γὰρ φυλάττειν ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀνείῳ, ὅπως μὴ δύναιντο οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε, παρέλιπεν ἀφύλακτον τὴν καλλίστην παρὰ Κεγχρειὰς πάροδον.
52 μαθεῖν δὲ βουλόμενος εἰ παρεληλυθότες εἶεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ Ὄνειον ἔπεμψε σκοποὺς τούς τε Ἀθηναίων ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίων ἅπαντας. καίτοι ἰδεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἧττον ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν ἱκανοί· εἰ δὲ δέοι ἀποχωρεῖν, πολὺ ῥᾷον τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἢ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ὁδοῦ εὐπόρου τυχεῖν καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀποχωρῆσαι. τὸ δὲ πολλούς τε προσάγειν καὶ ἥττονας τῶν ἐναντίων πῶς οὐ πολλὴ ἀφροσύνη; καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἅτε ἐπὶ πολὺ παραταξάμενοι χωρίον οἱ ἱππεῖς διὰ τὸ πολλοὶ εἶναι, ἐπεὶ ἔδει ἀποχωρεῖν, πολλῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν χωρίων ἐπελάβοντο· ὥστε οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀπώλοντο εἴκοσιν ἱππέων. καὶ τότε μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἐβούλοντο ἀπῆλθον.

carrying what they had taken as plunder. On the other hand, the Thebans and the rest were desirous of departing from the country, partly for the very reason that they saw their army growing daily smaller, and partly because provisions were scantier, the supply having been in part used up or stolen away, in part wasted or burned up; besides, it was winter, so that by this time all alike wanted to withdraw. When, accordingly, they proceeded to retire from Lacedaemon, then, of course, Iphicrates likewise proceeded to lead back the Athenians from Arcadia to Corinth. Now I have no fault to find with any good generalship he may have shown on any other occasion; but as regards all his actions at that time, I find them to have been either futile or inexpedient. For while he undertook to keep guard at Oneum so that the Thebans should not be able to get back home, he left unguarded the best pass, which led past Cenchreae. And when he wanted to find out whether the Thebans had passed Oneum, he sent as scouts all the horsemen both of the Athenians and of the Corinthians. And yet a few men would have been quite as efficient for seeing as the many; while if it were necessary to retire, it would be much easier for the few than for the many both to find an easy route and to retire at their leisure. But to employ a force that was numerous and still inferior to the enemy—was this not surely the height of folly? For inasmuch as the horsemen extended their line over a large space because they were a large force, when it was necessary to retire they encountered a large number of difficult places, so that no fewer than twenty horsemen lost their lives. At that time, then, the Thebans returned home as they pleased. 370 B.C.

BOOK VII

Z

I. Τῷ δ' ὑστέρῳ ἔτει Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις ἦλθον αὐτοκράτορες Ἀθήναζε, βουλευσόμενοι καθ' ὅ τι ἡ συμμαχία Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἔσοιτο. λεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν μὲν ξένων, πολλῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ὡς δέοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις τὴν συμμαχίαν εἶναι, Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος εἶπε τόνδε τὸν λόγον.

2 Ἐπείπερ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν ἔδοξεν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίους φίλους ποιεῖσθαι, δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι τοῦτο σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἡ φιλία ὅτι πλεῖστον χρόνον συμμενεῖ. ἐὰν οὖν ᾗ ἑκατέροις μάλιστα συνοίσει, ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ποιησώμεθα, οὕτω κατά γε τὸ εἰκὸς μάλιστα συμμένοιεν ἄν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα σχεδόν τι συνωμολόγηται, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας νῦν ἡ σκέψις. τῇ μὲν οὖν βουλῇ προβεβούλευται ὑμετέραν μὲν εἶναι τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τὴν κατὰ γῆν. ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ μᾶλλον γνώμῃ[1] ἢ θείᾳ φύσει τε καὶ
3 τύχῃ διωρίσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τόπον ἔχετε κάλλιστα πεφυκότα πρὸς τοῦτο. πλεῖσται γὰρ πόλεις τῶν δεομένων τῆς θαλάττης περὶ τὴν ὑμε-

[1] Inserted by Kel., following Pluygers.

BOOK VII

I. In the following year ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians and their allies, with full powers, came to Athens to take counsel as to what should be the terms of the alliance between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians. And while many foreigners and many Athenians said that the alliance ought to be on terms of full equality, Procles the Phliasian made the following speech: 369 B.C.

"Men of Athens, since you have decided that it is a good thing to make the Lacedaemonians your friends, it seems to me that you ought to consider this point, how the friendship is to endure for the longest possible time. Now it is only by making the compact on such terms as will be most advantageous to each party that we can expect it to be, in all probability, most enduring. The other points, then, have been pretty well agreed upon, but the question of the leadership is at present under discussion. Now it has been proposed by your Senate that the leadership by sea shall belong to you, and the leadership by land to the Lacedaemonians. And I, too, think that this distinction is based, not so much upon human judgment as upon divine arrangement and ordering. In the first place, you have a position most excellently adapted by nature for supremacy by sea. For most of the states which are dependent upon the sea are situated

τέραν πόλιν οἰκοῦσι, καὶ αὗται πᾶσαι ἀσθενέ-
στεραι τῆς ὑμετέρας. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ λιμένας
ἔχετε, ὧν ἄνευ οὐχ οἷόν τε ναυτικῇ δυνάμει χρῆ-
σθαι. ἔτι δὲ τριήρεις κέκτησθε πολλάς, καὶ πά-
4 τριον ὑμῖν ἐστι ναυτικὸν ἐπικτᾶσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν
τάς γε τέχνας τὰς περὶ ταῦτα πάσας οἰκείας
ἔχετε. καὶ μὴν ἐμπειρίᾳ γε πολὺ προέχετε τῶν
ἄλλων περὶ τὰ ναυτικά· ὁ γὰρ βίος τοῖς πλείστοις
ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης· ὥστε τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμε-
λόμενοι ἅμα καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγώνων
ἔμπειροι γίγνεσθε. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε. οὐδαμόθεν
ἂν τριήρεις πλείους ἀθρόαι ἐκπλεύσειαν ἢ παρ'
ὑμῶν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον πρὸς ἡγε-
μονίαν· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἰσχυρὸν γενόμενον
5 ἥδιστα πάντες συλλέγονται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
θεῶν δέδοται ὑμῖν εὐτυχεῖν ἐν τούτῳ. πλείστους
γὰρ καὶ μεγίστους ἀγῶνας ἠγωνισμένοι κατὰ
θάλατταν ἐλάχιστα μὲν ἀποτετυχήκατε, πλεῖστα
δὲ κατωρθώκατε. εἰκὸς οὖν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους
μεθ' ὑμῶν ἂν ἥδιστα τούτου τοῦ κινδύνου μετέ-
6 χειν. ὡς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀναγκαία καὶ προσήκουσα
ὑμῖν αὕτη ἡ ἐπιμέλεια ἐκ τῶνδε ἐνθυμήθητε·
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑμῖν ἐπολέμουν ποτὲ πολλὰ ἔτη,
καὶ κρατοῦντες τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν προύκοπτον εἰς
τὸ ἀπολέσαι ὑμᾶς. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκέ ποτε
αὐτοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπικρατῆσαι, εὐθὺς ὑπ'

round about your state, and they are all weaker than yours. In addition to this, you have harbours, without which it is not possible to enjoy naval power. Furthermore, you already possess many triremes, and it is a traditional policy of yours to keep adding ships. You likewise possess as peculiarly your own all the arts and crafts which have to do with ships. Again, you are far superior to other men in experience of nautical affairs, for most of you get your livelihood from the sea; hence, while attending to your private concerns, you are also at the same time gaining experience for encounters by sea. Here is another point also: there is no port from which more triremes can sail forth at one time than from your city. And this is a matter of no slight importance with reference to leadership, for all men love best to join forces with the power which is first to show itself strong. Furthermore, it has also been granted you by the gods to be successful in this pursuit. For while you have engaged in very many and very great combats by sea, you have met with an exceedingly small number of misfortunes and have achieved an exceedingly large number of successes. Therefore it is likely that the allies would like best to share in such perils if they were under your leadership. And that this devotion to the sea is indeed both necessary and proper for you, you must conclude from the following fact: the Lacedaemonians once made war upon you for many years,[1] and though masters of your land could make no progress toward destroying you. But when at length the deity granted them to win the mastery by sea, 369 B.C.

[1] The reference is to the Peloponnesian War, which was terminated by the capture of the Athenian fleet by the Lacedaemonians at Aegospotami (*Hell.* II. i. 20-32).

ἐκείνοις παντελῶς ἐγένεσθε. οὐκοῦν εὔδηλον ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶν ὅτι ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἅπασα ὑμῖν
7 ἤρτηται σωτηρία. οὕτως οὖν πεφυκότων πῶς ἂν ἔχοι καλῶς ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτρέψαι κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεῖσθαι, οἳ πρῶτον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀπειρότεροι ὑμῶν τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εἶναι, ἔπειτα δ' οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι μόνον ἀνθρώπων, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ περὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως;

8 Τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα οὕτως ἔχει· τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπισκέψασθε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἰκοῦσιν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ· ὥστε τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντες καὶ εἰ θαλάττης εἴργοιντο, δύναιντ' ἂν καλῶς διαζῆν. ἐγνωκότες οὖν καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτα εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων πρὸς τὸν κατὰ γῆν πόλεμον τὴν ἄσκησιν ποιοῦνται. καὶ τὸ πλείστου δὲ ἄξιον, τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οὗτοι μὲν κράτιστοι
9 κατὰ γῆν, ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν. ἔπειτα δὲ ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ναυτικῷ, οὕτως αὖ ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ γῆν πλεῖστοι καὶ τάχιστ' ἂν ἐξέλθοιεν· ὥστε πρὸς τούτους αὖ κατὰ γῆν[1] εἰκὸς τοὺς συμμάχους εὐθαρσεστάτους προσιέναι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς δέδωκεν, ὥσπερ ὑμῖν κατὰ θάλατταν εὐτυχεῖν, οὕτως ἐκείνοις κατὰ γῆν· πλείστους γὰρ αὖ οὗτοι ἀγῶνας ἐν τῇ γῇ ἠγωνισμένοι ἐλάχιστα μὲν
10 ἐσφαλμένοι εἰσί, πλεῖστα δὲ κατωρθωκότες. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαία οὐδὲν ἧττον τούτοις ἡ κατὰ γῆν ἐπιμέλεια ἢ ὑμῖν ἡ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων

[1] κατὰ γῆν inserted by Kel., following Hartman.

straightway you fell completely under their power. 369 B.C.
In these circumstances, therefore, it is plain to be seen that all your safety depends upon the sea. Such, then, being the situation ordained by nature, how could you be content to allow the Lacedaemonians to be leaders by sea, when, in the first place, they themselves admit that they are less experienced than you are in this work, and when, in the second place, they do not risk as much as you do in contests by sea, but merely the people on board the triremes, whereas you risk wives and children and the entire state.

"This is the situation on your side; consider now that of the Lacedaemonians. Firstly, they dwell in the interior; hence, so long as they are masters of the land, they can lead a comfortable existence even if they are shut off from the sea. Therefore, realizing this fact themselves, they carry on their training from their very boyhood with a view to war by land. Furthermore, in that which is of the greatest importance, obedience to their commanders, they are best by land, as you are by sea. Again, they on their side can set forth by land, as you can with a fleet, in greatest numbers and with greatest speed; therefore it is to them in turn that the armies of the allies would be likely to attach themselves with greatest confidence. Besides, the deity has granted, as to you success by sea, so to them success by land; for while they on their side have engaged in very many combats on the land, they have incurred an exceedingly small number of defeats, and have won an exceedingly large number of victories. And that this devotion to the land is no less necessary for them than devotion to the sea for you, one may

ἔξεστι γιγνώσκειν. ὑμεῖς γὰρ τούτοις πολλὰ ἔτη πολεμοῦντες καὶ πολλάκις καταναυμαχοῦντες οὐδὲν προὔργου ἐποιεῖτε πρὸς τὸ τούτους καταπολεμῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἡττήθησαν ἐν τῇ γῇ, εὐθὺς καὶ περὶ παίδων καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν καὶ περὶ ὅλης
11 τῆς πόλεως κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. πῶς οὖν οὐ τούτοις αὖ δεινὸν ἄλλοις μὲν ἐπιτρέπειν κατὰ γῆν ἡγεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἄριστα τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ τῇ βουλῇ προβεβούλευται, ταῦτα εἴρηκά τε καὶ συμφορώτατα ἡγοῦμαι ἀμφοῖν εἶναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ εὐτυχοῖτε τὰ κράτιστα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν βουλευσάμενοι.

12 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων παρόντες ἐπῄνεσαν ἀμφότεροι ἰσχυρῶς τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ. Κηφισόδοτος δὲ παρελθών· Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔφη, οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθε ἐξαπατώμενοι· ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἀκούσητέ μου, ἐγὼ ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπιδείξω. ἤδη γὰρ ἡγήσεσθε κατὰ θάλατταν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐὰν συμμαχῶσι, δῆλον ὅτι πέμψουσι τοὺς μὲν τριηράρχους Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἴσως τοὺς ἐπιβάτας, οἱ δὲ ναῦται δῆλον ὅτι[1] ἔσονται ἢ Εἵλωτες ἢ μισθο-
13 φόροι. οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς μὲν τούτων ἡγήσεσθε. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅταν παραγγείλωσιν ὑμῖν κατὰ γῆν στρατείαν, δῆλον ὅτι πέμψετε τοὺς ὁπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας. οὐκοῦν οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν γίγνονται ἡγεμόνες, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἐκείνων

[1] δῆλον ὅτι MSS.: Kel. brackets, following Nauck.

judge from the results. For you made war upon them for many years,[1] and though you defeated them many times by sea, could make no progress toward subduing them. But so soon as they incurred one defeat on the land,[2] immediately their wives and children and their entire state were at stake. Hence for them, on their side, it would surely be a dreadful thing to allow others to be leaders by land, when they themselves are best at the administration of affairs by land. As for myself, therefore, the course which has been proposed by your Senate is that which I have urged, and which I believe to be most advantageous to both parties; and may you, for your part, be fortunate in reaching the conclusion that is best for us all." 369 B.C.

Thus he spoke, and both the Athenians and those Lacedaemonians who were present applauded his speech vigorously. But Cephisodotus came forward and said: "Men of Athens, you do not observe that you are being deceived; but if you will listen to me, I will prove it to you very speedily. As the matter now stands, you are to be leaders by sea. And if the Lacedaemonians are your allies, it is clear that the captains, and perhaps the marines whom they send out, will be Lacedaemonians, but it is also clear that the sailors will be either Helots or mercenaries. You, therefore, will be leaders of these people. When, however, the Lacedaemonians give you the order for a campaign by land, it is clear that you will send your hoplites and your horsemen. By this plan, therefore, they become leaders of your own selves, while you become leaders merely of their slaves and

[1] The speaker is referring again to the Peloponnesian War.
[2] At Leuctra (VI. iv. 1–15).

δούλων καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἀξίων. ἀπόκριναι δέ μοι,
ἔφη, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιε Τιμόκρατες, οὐκ ἄρτι ἔλεγες
ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις ἥκοις τὴν συμμα-
14 χίαν ποιούμενος; Εἶπον ταῦτα. Ἔστιν οὖν, ἔφη
ὁ Κηφισόδοτος, ἰσαίτερον ἢ ἐν μέρει μὲν ἑκατέ-
ρους ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ,
καὶ ὑμᾶς τε, εἴ τι ἀγαθόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ κατὰ θάλατ-
ταν ἀρχῇ, τούτων μετέχειν, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ κατὰ
γῆν; ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μετεπείσθη-
σαν, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο κατὰ πενθήμερον ἑκατέρους
ἡγεῖσθαι.

15 Στρατευομένων δ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν
συμμάχων εἰς Κόρινθον ἔδοξε κοινῇ φυλάττειν τὸ
Ὄνειον. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐπορεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ
σύμμαχοι, παραταξάμενοι ἐφύλαττον ἄλλος ἄλ-
λοθεν τοῦ Ὀνείου, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Πελλη-
νεῖς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ
οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπεὶ ἀπεῖχον τῶν φυλαττόντων
τριάκοντα στάδια, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν τῷ
πεδίῳ. συντεκμηράμενοι δὲ ἡνίκ' ἂν ᾤοντο ὁρμη-
θέντες καθανύσαι ἅμα κνέφᾳ, πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακε-
16 δαιμονίων φυλακὴν ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ
ἐψεύσθησαν τῆς ὥρας, ἀλλ' ἐπιπίπτουσι τοῖς
Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς Πελληνεῦσιν ἡνίκα αἱ
μὲν νυκτεριναὶ φυλακαὶ ἤδη ἔληγον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν
στιβάδων ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος. ἐν-
ταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι προσπεσόντες ἔπαιον παρε-
σκευασμένοι ἀπαρασκευάστους καὶ συντεταγμένοι

their men of least account. Answer me," he said, "Timocrates of Lacedaemon, did you not say a moment ago that you had come with intent to make the alliance on terms of full equality?" "I did say that." "Then," said Cephisodotus, "is there anything more equal than that each party in turn should be leader of the fleet, and each in turn leader of the army, and that you, if there is any advantage in the leadership by sea, should share therein, and we likewise in the matter of leadership by land?" Upon hearing this the Athenians were led to change their minds, and they voted that each party should hold the leadership in turn for periods of five days. 369 B.C.

Now when both peoples and their allies had proceeded to Corinth, it was determined that they should together guard Oneum. Accordingly, while the Thebans and their allies were on the march, they formed their lines and proceeded to keep guard at one point and another of Oneum, but the Lacedaemonians and the Pelleneans at the most assailable point. And the Thebans and their allies, when they were distant thirty stadia from the troops on guard, encamped in the plain. Then, after calculating the time at which they thought they should start in order to finish their journey at dawn, they marched upon the garrison of the Lacedaemonians. And in fact they did not prove mistaken in the hour, but fell upon the Lacedaemonians and the Pelleneans at the time when the night watches were just coming to an end, and the men were rising from their camp-beds and going wherever each one had to go. Thereupon the Thebans made their attack and laid on their blows—men prepared attacking those unprepared, and men in good order against those in disorder.

17 ἀσυντάκτους. ὡς δὲ οἱ σωθέντες ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἀπέφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγγύτατα λόφον, ἐξὸν τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμάρχῳ λαβόντι ὁπόσους μὲν ἐβούλετο τῶν συμμάχων ὁπλίτας, ὁπόσους δὲ πελταστάς, κατέχειν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξῆν ἀσφαλῶς ἐκ Κεγχρειῶν κομίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐποίησε ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μάλα ἀπορούντων τῶν Θηβαίων πῶς χρὴ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Σικυῶνα βλέποντος καταβῆναι ἢ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν, σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος, ὡς τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκει, πρὸς Θηβαίων μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτῶν, οὕτως ἀπῆλθε καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὑτοῦ ἀπήγαγεν.

18 Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἀσφαλῶς καταβάντες καὶ συμμείξαντες τοῖς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχοις, Ἀρκάσι τε καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ Ἠλείοις, εὐθὺς μὲν προσέβαλον πρὸς Σικυῶνα καὶ Πελλήνην· στρατευσάμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐδῄωσαν αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἐκεῖθεν μάλα πάντων ὑπεροπτικῶς τῶν ἐναντίων, ὡς ἐγένοντο ἐγγὺς τοῦ Κορινθίων ἄστεως, δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ Φλειοῦντα ἰόντι, ὡς εἰ ἀνεῳγμέναι τύχοιεν,
19 εἰσπεσούμενοι. ἐκβοηθήσαντες δέ τινες ψιλοὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντῶσι τῶν Θηβαίων τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχουσι τοῦ τείχους· καὶ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰ μνήματα καὶ τὰ ὑπερέχοντα χωρία, βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες ἀποκτείνουσι τῶν πρώτων καὶ μάλα συχνούς, καὶ

And when such as came out of the affair with their lives had made their escape to the nearest hill, although the polemarch of the Lacedaemonians might have got as many hoplites and as many peltasts as he pleased from the forces of the allies and might have held his position—for supplies might have been brought in safety from Cenchreae—he did not do this, but while the Thebans were in great perplexity as to how they were to descend on the side looking toward Sicyon, failing which they would have to go back again, he concluded a truce which, as most people thought, was more to the advantage of the Thebans than to that of his own side, and under these circumstances departed and led away the troops under his command. 369 B.C.

The Thebans, then, after descending in safety and effecting a junction with their allies, the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans, immediately attacked Sicyon and Pellene; they also made an expedition to Epidaurus, and laid waste the whole territory of the Epidaurians. Returning from there in a manner which showed great disdain for all their adversaries, as soon as they came near the city of the Corinthians they rushed at the double toward the gates through which one passes in going to Phlius, with the intention of bursting in if they chanced to be open. But some light troops sallied forth from the city against them and met the picked men[1] of the Thebans at a distance of not so much as four plethra from the city walls; then they climbed up on burial monuments and elevated spots, killed a very considerable number of the troops in the front ranks by hurling javelins and other missiles, and after

[1] The famous "Sacred Band."

τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωκον ὡς τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια.
τούτου δὲ γενομένου οἱ Κορίνθιοι τοὺς νεκροὺς
πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἑλκύσαντες καὶ ὑποσπόνδους ἀπο-
δόντες τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἀνε-
ψύχθησαν οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σύμμαχοι.
20 Ἅμα τε δὴ πεπραγμένων τούτων καταπλεῖ
Λακεδαιμονίοις ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου βοήθεια, τριή-
ρεις πλέον ἢ εἴκοσιν. ἦγον δὲ Κελτούς τε καὶ
Ἴβηρας καὶ ἱππέας ὡς πεντήκοντα. τῇ δ' ὑστε-
ραίᾳ οἱ Θηβαῖοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν σύμμαχοι
διαταξάμενοι καὶ ἐμπλήσαντες τὸ πεδίον μέχρι
τῆς θαλάττης καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐχομένων τῆς πόλεως
γηλόφων ἔφθειρον εἴ τι χρήσιμον ἦν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ.
καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ τῶν Κορινθίων
ἱππεῖς οὐ μάλα ἐπλησίαζον τῷ στρατεύματι,
21 ὁρῶντες ἰσχυρὰ καὶ πολλὰ τἀντίπαλα. οἱ δὲ
παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἱππεῖς, ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν,[1] οὗτοι
διεσκεδασμένοι ἄλλος ἄλλῃ παραθέοντες ἠκόντι-
ζόν τε προσελαύνοντες, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὥρμων ἐπ' αὐ-
τούς, ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφοντες ἠκόν-
τιζον. καὶ ταῦτα ἅμα ποιοῦντες κατέβαινον ἀπὸ
τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἀνεπαύοντο. εἰ δὲ καταβεβηκόσιν
ἐπελαύνοιέν τινες, εὐπετῶς ἀναπηδῶντες ἀνεχώ-
ρουν. εἰ δ' αὖ τινες διώξειαν αὐτοὺς πολὺ ἀπὸ
τοῦ στρατεύματος, τούτους, ὁπότε ἀποχωροῖεν,
ἐπικείμενοι καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες δεινὰ εἰργάζοντο, καὶ
πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ἠνάγκαζον ἑαυτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ
22 προϊέναι καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν. μετὰ ταῦτα μέντοι οἱ

[1] ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν MSS.: ὅσοι παρῆσαν Kel.

putting the rest to flight, pursued them about three 369 B.C.
or four stadia. When this had taken place the Corinthians dragged the bodies to the wall, and after they had given them back under a truce, set up a trophy. In this way the allies of the Lacedaemonians were renewed in their spirits.

Just after these events had happened, the expedition sent by Dionysius to aid the Lacedaemonians sailed in, numbering more than twenty triremes. And they brought Celts, Iberians, and about fifty horsemen. On the following day the Thebans and the rest, their allies, after forming themselves in detached bodies and filling the plain as far as the sea and as far as the hills adjoining the city, destroyed whatever of value there was in the plain. And the horsemen of the Athenians and of the Corinthians did not approach very near their army, seeing that the enemy were strong and numerous. But the horsemen sent by Dionysius, few though they were, scattering themselves here and there, would ride along the enemy's line, charge upon them and throw javelins at them, and when the enemy began to move forth against them, would retreat, and then turn round and throw their javelins again. And while pursuing these tactics they would dismount from their horses and rest. But if anyone charged upon them while they were dismounted, they would leap easily upon their horses and retreat. On the other hand, if any pursued them far from the Theban army, they would press upon these men when they were retiring, and by throwing javelins work havoc with them, and thus they compelled the entire army, according to their own will, either to advance or to fall back. After this, however,

Θηβαῖοι μείναντες οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἕκαστος οἴκαδε. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐμβάλλουσιν οἱ παρὰ Διονυσίου εἰς Σικυῶνα, καὶ μάχῃ μὲν νικῶσι τοὺς Σικυωνίους ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· Δέρας δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ κράτος αἱροῦσι. καὶ ἡ μὲν παρὰ Διονυσίου πρώτη βοήθεια ταῦτα πράξασα ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Συρακούσας.

Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων μέχρι μὲν τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ ἔπραττον καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο ἡγου-
23 μένων Θηβαίων. ἐγγενόμενος δέ τις Λυκομήδης Μαντινεύς, γένει τε οὐδενὸς ἐνδεὴς χρήμασί τε προήκων καὶ ἄλλως φιλότιμος, οὗτος ἐνέπλησε φρονήματος τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, λέγων ὡς μόνοις μὲν αὐτοῖς πατρὶς Πελοπόννησος εἴη, μόνοι γὰρ αὐτόχθονες ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῖεν, πλεῖστον δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φύλων τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν εἴη καὶ σώματα ἐγκρατέστατα ἔχοι. καὶ ἀλκιμωτάτους δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπεδείκνυε, τεκμήρια παρεχόμενος ὡς ἐπικούρων ὁπότε δεηθεῖέν τινες, οὐδένας ᾑροῦντο ἀντ' Ἀρκάδων. ἔτι δὲ οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίους πώποτε ἄνευ σφῶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οὔτε νῦν Θηβαίους ἐλθεῖν ἄνευ Ἀρκάδων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα.
24 Ἐὰν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν ὅποι ἄν τις παρακαλῇ φείσεσθε· ὡς πρότερόν τε Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐκείνους ηὐξήσατε, νῦν δ', ἐὰν Θηβαίοις εἰκῇ ἀκολουθῆτε καὶ μὴ κατὰ μέρος

the Thebans remained but a few days and then returned home, and the others likewise to their several homes. Then the troops sent by Dionysius invaded the territory of Sicyon, and they not only defeated the Sicyonians in battle on the plain and killed about seventy of them, but captured by storm the stronghold of Deras. After these exploits the first supporting force sent out by Dionysius sailed back to Syracuse. 369 B.C.

Up to this time the Thebans and all who had revolted from the Lacedaemonians had been acting and carrying on their campaigns in full accord, under the leadership of the Thebans. Now, however, there appeared a certain Lycomedes of Mantinea, a man inferior to none in birth, foremost in wealth, and ambitious besides, and filled the Arcadians with self-confidence, saying that it was to them alone that Peloponnesus was a fatherland, since they were the only autochthonous stock that dwelt therein, and that the Arcadian people was the most numerous of all the Greek peoples and had the strongest bodies. He also declared that they were the bravest, offering as evidence the fact that whenever men needed mercenaries, there were none whom they chose in preference to Arcadians. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians had never, he said, invaded the territory of Athens without their help, nor had the Thebans at present come to Lacedaemon without the help of the Arcadians. "If you are wise, therefore, you will leave off following wherever anyone summons you; for in former days, by following the Lacedaemonians, you made them great, and now, if you follow the Thebans heedlessly and do not make the claim to enjoy the leadership by turns with them,

*ἡγεῖσθαι ἀξιῶτε, ἴσως τάχα τούτους ἄλλους Λα-
κεδαιμονίους εὑρήσετε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ταῦτα
ἀκούοντες ἀνεφυσῶντό τε καὶ ὑπερεφίλουν τὸν
Λυκομήδην καὶ μόνον ἄνδρα ἡγοῦντο· ὥστε ἄρ-
χοντας ἔταττον οὕστινας ἐκεῖνος κελεύοι. καὶ ἐκ
τῶν συμβαινόντων δὲ ἔργων ἐμεγαλύνοντο οἱ Ἀρ-*
25 *κάδες· ἐμβαλόντων μὲν γὰρ εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον τῶν
Ἀργείων, καὶ ἀποκλεισθέντων τῆς ἐξόδου ὑπό τε
τῶν μετὰ Χαβρίου ξένων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ
Κορινθίων, βοηθήσαντες μάλα πολιορκουμένους
ἐξελύσαντο τοὺς Ἀργείους, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀνδρά-
σιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις πολεμίοις χρώμενοι.
στρατευσάμενοι δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀσίνην τῆς Λακαίνης
ἐνίκησάν τε τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν καὶ
τὸν Γεράνορα τὸν Σπαρτιάτην πολέμαρχον γεγε-
νημένον ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὸ προάστιον τῶν Ἀσι-
ναίων ἐπόρθησαν. ὅπου δὲ βουληθεῖεν ἐξελθεῖν,
οὐ νύξ, οὐ χειμών, οὐ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, οὐκ ὄρη δύσ-
βατα ἀπεκώλυεν αὐτούς· ὥστε ἔν γε ἐκείνῳ τῷ*
26 *χρόνῳ πολὺ ᾤοντο κράτιστοι εἶναι. οἱ μὲν δὴ
Θηβαῖοι διὰ ταῦτα ὑποφθόνως καὶ οὐκέτι φιλι-
κῶς εἶχον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. οἵ γε μὴν Ἠλεῖοι
ἐπεὶ ἀπαιτοῦντες τὰς πόλεις τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἃς
ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφῃρέθησαν, ἔγνωσαν αὐτοὺς
τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτῶν λόγους ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιου-
μένους, τοὺς δὲ Τριφυλίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς
ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀποστάντας περὶ παντὸς ποιουμένους,
ὅτι Ἀρκάδες ἔφασαν εἶναι, ἐκ τούτων αὖ καὶ οἱ
Ἠλεῖοι δυσμενῶς εἶχον πρὸς αὐτούς.*

it may be that you will soon find in them another set of Lacedaemonians." Upon hearing these words the Arcadians were puffed up, and loved Lycomedes beyond measure, and thought that he alone was a man; so that they appointed as their leaders whomsoever he directed them to appoint. But the Arcadians were exalted as a result also of the actual achievements which fell to their lot; for when the Argives had invaded the country of Epidaurus and their way out had been barred by the mercenaries under Chabrias, and by the Athenians, and the Corinthians, they went to the rescue and released the Argives from an absolute blockade, although they had not only the enemy's troops but also the character of the country to contend with. They also made an expedition to Asine in Laconia, defeated the garrison of the Lacedaemonians, slew Geranor, the Spartiate who had become polemarch, and plundered the outer city of the Asinaeans. And whenever they wished to take the field, neither night nor storm nor length of journey nor difficult mountains would prevent them; so that at that time they counted themselves altogether the strongest of the Greeks. For these reasons the Thebans naturally felt somewhat jealous and no longer friendly toward the Arcadians. As for the Eleans, when they demanded back again from the Arcadians the cities of which they had been deprived by the Lacedaemonians and found that the Arcadians gave no heed to their words, but paid the highest regard to the Triphylians and the others who had revolted from them, because these people said they were Arcadians, as a result of this the Eleans in their turn felt unfriendly toward them. 369 B.C.

27 Οὕτω δ' ἑκάστων μέγα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς φρονούντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἔρχεται Φιλίσκος Ἀβυδηνὸς παρ' Ἀριοβαρζάνους χρήματα ἔχων πολλά. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς συνήγαγε περὶ εἰρήνης Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἐλθόντες τῷ μὲν θεῷ οὐδὲν ἀνεκοινώσαντο ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη γένοιτο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐβουλεύοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ συνεχώρουν οἱ Θηβαῖοι Μεσσήνην ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἶναι, ξενικὸν πολὺ συνέλεγεν ὁ Φιλίσκος, ὅπως πολεμοίη μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων.

28 Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου δευτέρα βοήθεια. λεγόντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν ὡς χρεὼν εἴη αὐτοὺς ἰέναι εἰς Θετταλίαν τἀναντία Θηβαίοις, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ὡς εἰς τὴν Λακωνικήν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐνίκησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περιέπλευσαν οἱ παρὰ Διονυσίου εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς Ἀρχίδαμος μετὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐστρατεύετο. καὶ Καρύας μὲν ἐξαιρεῖ κατὰ κράτος, καὶ ὅσους ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, ἀπέσφαξεν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς στρατευσάμενος εἰς Παρρασίους τῆς Ἀρκαδίας μετ' αὐτῶν ἐδῄου τὴν
29 χώραν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐβοήθησαν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Μηλέας γηλόφοις. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ Κισσίδας ὁ ἄρχων τῆς παρὰ Διονυσίου βοηθείας ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐξήκοι αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος ὃς εἰρημένος ἦν παραμένειν. καὶ ἅμα ταῦτ' ἔλεγε

While the several allies were each thus filled with proud confidence in themselves, Philiscus of Abydus came from Ariobarzanes[1] with a large amount of money. And in the first place he brought together at Delphi the Thebans, their allies, and the Lacedaemonians to negotiate in regard to peace. But when they had arrived there, they did not consult the god at all as to how peace should be brought about, but deliberated for themselves. Since, however, the Thebans would not agree that Messene should be subject to the Lacedaemonians,[2] Philiscus set about collecting a large mercenary force in order to make war on the side of the Lacedaemonians. 368 B.C.

While these things were going on the second supporting force sent out by Dionysius arrived. And when the Athenians said that it ought to go to Thessaly to oppose the Thebans, while the Lacedaemonians urged that it should go to Laconia, the latter plan carried the day among the allies. Accordingly, after these troops from Dionysius had sailed round to Lacedaemon, Archidamus took them, along with his citizen soldiers, and set out on an expedition. He captured Caryae by storm and put to the sword all whom he took prisoners. From there he marched at once with his united forces against the people of Parrhasia, in Arcadia, and laid waste their land. But when the Arcadians and Argives came to their assistance, he retired and encamped in the hills above Melea. While he was there Cissidas, the commander of the supporting force from Dionysius, said that the time for which he had been directed to stay had expired. And as soon as he had said this he departed by the road

[1] *cp.* v. i. 28. [2] See note on VI. v. 32.

καὶ ἀπῄει τὴν ἐπὶ Σπάρτης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποπορευόμενον ὑπετέμνοντο αὐτὸν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ἐπὶ στενῷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον καὶ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευε. κἀκεῖνος μέντοι ἐβοήθει. ὡς δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ ἐπ' Εὐτρησίους ἐκτροπῇ, οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι προσέβαινον εἰς τὴν Λάκαιναν, καὶ οὗτοι ὡς ἀποκλείσοντες αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπ' οἶκον ὁδοῦ. ὁ δέ, οὗπέρ ἐστι χωρίον ἐπίπεδον ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῆς τε ἐπ' Εὐτρησίων καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Μηλέας ὁδοῦ, ἐνταῦθα ἐκβὰς παρετάξατο ὡς
30 μαχούμενος. ἔφασαν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸ τῶν λόχων παριόντα τοιάδε παρακελεύσασθαι· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, νῦν ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι ἀναβλέψωμεν ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασιν· ἀποδῶμεν τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις τὴν πατρίδα οἵανπερ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρελάβομεν· παυσώμεθα αἰσχυνόμενοι καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ξένους, ἐν οἷς πρόσθεν γε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιβλεπτότατοι
31 ἦμεν. τούτων δὲ ῥηθέντων ἐξ αἰθρίας ἀστραπάς τε καὶ βροντὰς λέγουσιν αἰσίους αὐτῷ φανῆναι· συνέβη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τέμενός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους [1] εἶναι, τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων πάντων οὕτω πολὺ μένος καὶ θάρρος τοῖς στρατιώταις φασὶν ἐμπεσεῖν ὥστ' ἔργον εἶναι τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀνείργειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠθουμένους εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἡγεῖτο ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος,

[1] After Ἡρακλέους the MSS. have οὗ δὴ καὶ ἀπόγονος λέγεται: bracketed by Kel. and all edd., following Cobet.

leading to Sparta. But when, as he was marching 368 B.C. away, the Messenians tried to cut him off at a narrow place on the road, thereupon he sent to Archidamus and bade him come to his aid. And Archidamus did in fact do so. Then as soon as they all arrived at the branch road leading to the country of the Eutresians, there were the Arcadians and Argives advancing towards Laconia, they also having the intention of shutting off Archidamus from his homeward way. He accordingly, at just the point where there is a level space at the junction of the road leading to the Eutresians and the road to Melea, turned out of his path and formed his troops in line for battle. It is said that he also went along in front of the battalions and exhorted his men in the following words: "Fellow citizens, let us now prove ourselves brave men and thus be able to look people in the face; let us hand on to those who come after us the fatherland as it was when we received it from our fathers; let us cease to feel shame before wives and children and elders and strangers, in whose eyes we used once to be the most highly honoured of all the Greeks." When these words had been spoken, it is said that from a clear sky there came lightnings and thunderings of favourable omen for him; and it chanced also that on the right wing was a sanctuary and a statue of Heracles.[1] As a result, therefore, of all these things, it is reported that the soldiers were inspired with so much strength and courage that it was a task for their leaders to restrain them as they pushed forward to the front. And when Archidamus led the advance, only a few of the

[1] The circumstance was of good omen because Heracles was the traditional ancestor of the Spartan kings.

ὀλίγοι μὲν τῶν πολεμίων δεξάμενοι εἰς δόρυ αὐτοὺς ἀπέθανον· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἔπιπτον, πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ ἱππέων, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελ-
32 τῶν. ὡς δὲ ληξάσης τῆς μάχης τροπαῖον ἐστήσατο, εὐθὺς ἔπεμψεν οἴκαδε ἀγγελοῦντα Δημοτέλη τὸν κήρυκα τῆς τε νίκης τὸ μέγεθος καὶ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οὐδὲ εἷς τεθναίη, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παμπληθεῖς. τοὺς μέντοι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἔφασαν ἀκούσαντας ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τῶν γερόντων καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων πάντας κλαίειν· οὕτω κοινόν τι ἄρα χαρᾷ καὶ λύπῃ δάκρυά ἐστιν. ἐπὶ μέντοι τῇ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τύχῃ οὐ πολύ τι ἧττον Λακεδαιμονίων ἥσθησαν Θηβαῖοί τε καὶ Ἠλεῖοι· οὕτως ἤδη ἤχθοντο ἐπὶ τῷ φρονήματι αὐτῶν.

33 Συνεχῶς δὲ βουλευόμενοι Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἂν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν λάβοιεν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ πέμψειαν πρὸς τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, πλεονεκτῆσαι ἄν τι ἐν ἐκείνῳ. καὶ ἐκ τούτου παρακαλέσαντες ἤδη τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ προφάσει ὅτι καὶ Εὐθυκλῆς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος εἴη παρὰ βασιλεῖ, ἀναβαίνουσι Θηβαίων μὲν Πελοπίδας, Ἀρκάδων δὲ Ἀντίοχος ὁ παγκρατιαστής, Ἠλείων δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος· ἠκολούθει δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖος. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἀνέπεμψαν Τιμαγόραν τε
34 καὶ Λέοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐγένοντο, πολὺ ἐπλεονέκτει ὁ Πελοπίδας παρὰ τῷ Πέρσῃ. εἶχε γὰρ λέγειν καὶ ὅτι μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ

enemy waited till his men came within spear-thrust; these were killed, and the rest were cut down as they fled, many by the horsemen and many by the Celts. Then as soon as the battle had ended and he had set up a trophy, he immediately sent home Demoteles, the herald, to report the greatness of his victory and the fact that not so much as one of the Lacedaemonians had been slain, while vast numbers of the enemy had fallen. And when the people at Sparta heard this, it is said that all of them wept, beginning with Agesilaus, the senators, and the ephors; so true it is, indeed, that tears belong to joy and sorrow alike. On the other hand, both the Thebans and the Eleans were almost as well pleased as the Lacedaemonians at the misfortune of the Arcadians—so vexed had they become by this time at their presumption. 368 B.C.

And now the Thebans, who were continually planning how they might obtain the leadership of Greece, hit upon the idea that if they should send to the King of the Persians, they would gain some advantage in him. Thereupon they immediately summoned their allies, on the pretext that Euthycles, the Lacedaemonian, was also at the King's court; and there went up thither Pelopidas for the Thebans, Antiochus, the pancratiast,[1] for the Arcadians, and Archidamus for the Eleans; an Argive also went with them. And the Athenians, upon hearing of this, sent up Timagoras and Leon. When the ambassadors arrived there, Pelopidas enjoyed a great advantage with the Persian. For he was able to say that his people were the only ones among the Greeks who 367 B.C.

[1] The παγκράτιον, a regular "event" in the Greek national games, was a combination of boxing and wrestling.

συνεμάχοντο ἐν Πλαταιαῖς, καὶ ὅτι ὕστερον οὐ-
δεπώποτε στρατεύσαιντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς
Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τοῦτο πολεμήσειαν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι
οὐκ ἐθελήσαιεν μετ' Ἀγησιλάου ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν
οὐδὲ θῦσαι ἐάσαιεν αὐτὸν ἐν Αὐλίδι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι,
ἔνθαπερ Ἀγαμέμνων ὅτε εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξέπλει
35 θύσας εἷλε Τροίαν. μέγα δὲ συνεβάλλετο τῷ
Πελοπίδᾳ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ ὅτι ἐνενικήκεσαν
οἱ Θηβαῖοι μάχῃ ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ ὅτι πεπορθη-
κότες τὴν χώραν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφαίνοντο.
ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ Πελοπίδας ὅτι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρ-
κάδες μάχῃ ἡττημένοι εἶεν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων,
ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ παρεγένοντο. συνεμαρτύρει δ' αὐτῷ
ταῦτα πάντα ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγοι ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Τιμα-
γόρας, καὶ ἐτιμᾶτο δεύτερος μετὰ τὸν Πελοπίδαν.
36 ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως ὁ Πελο-
πίδας τί βούλοιτο ἑαυτῷ γραφῆναι εἶπεν ὅτι
Μεσσήνην τε αὐτόνομον εἶναι ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων
καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἀνέλκειν τὰς ναῦς· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ
πείθοιντο, στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτούς· εἴ τις δὲ πόλις
μὴ ἐθέλοι ἀκολουθεῖν, ἐπὶ ταύτην πρῶτον ἰέναι.
37 γραφέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ ἀναγνωσθέντων τοῖς
πρέσβεσιν, εἶπεν ὁ Λέων ἀκούοντος τοῦ βασιλέως·
Νὴ Δία, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥρα γε ὑμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν,
ἄλλον τινὰ φίλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ζητεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἀπήγγειλεν ὁ γραμματεὺς ἃ εἶπεν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος,

had fought on the side of the King at Plataea, that 367 B.C. they had never afterwards undertaken a campaign against the King, and that the Lacedaemonians had made war upon them for precisely the reason that they had declined to go with Agesilaus against him[1] and had refused to permit Agesilaus to sacrifice to Artemis at Aulis,[2] the very spot where Agamemnon, at the time when he was sailing forth to Asia, had sacrificed before he captured Troy. It also contributed greatly toward the winning of honour for Pelopidas that the Thebans had been victorious in battle at Leuctra, and that they had admittedly ravaged the country of the Lacedaemonians. Pelopidas also said that the Argives and Arcadians had been defeated by the Lacedaemonians when the Thebans were not present with them. And the Athenian, Timagoras, bore witness in his behalf that all these things which he said were true, and so stood second in honour to Pelopidas. Pelopidas was therefore asked by the King what he desired to have written for him; he replied, that Messene should be independent of the Lacedaemonians and that the Athenians should draw up their ships on the land; that if they refused obedience in these points, the contracting parties were to make an expedition against them; and that if any city refused to join in such expedition, they were to proceed first of all against that city. When these things had been written and read to the ambassadors, Leon said in the King's hearing, "By Zeus, Athenians, it is time for you, it seems, to be seeking some other friend instead of the King." And when the secretary had interpreted to the King what the Athenian had said, he again

[1] See III. v. 5. [2] This incident is described in III. iv. 3–4.

πάλιν ἐξήνεγκε προσγεγραμμένα· εἰ δέ τι δικαιότερον τούτων γιγνώσκουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἰόντας
38 πρὸς βασιλέα διδάσκειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο οἱ πρέσβεις οἴκαδε ἕκαστοι, τὸν μὲν Τιμαγόραν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, κατηγοροῦντος τοῦ Λέοντος ὡς οὔτε συσκηνοῦν ἑαυτῷ ἐθέλοι μετά τε Πελοπίδου πάντα βουλεύοιτο. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πρέσβεων ὁ μὲν Ἠλεῖος Ἀρχίδαμος, ὅτι προυτίμησε τὴν Ἦλιν πρὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἐπῄνει τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος, ὅτι ἠλαττοῦτο τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, οὔτε τὰ δῶρα ἐδέξατο ἀπήγγειλέ τε πρὸς τοὺς μυρίους ὡς βασιλεὺς ἀρτοκόπους μὲν καὶ ὀψοποιοὺς καὶ οἰνοχόους καὶ θυρωροὺς παμπληθεῖς ἔχοι, ἄνδρας δὲ οἳ μάχοιντ' ἂν Ἕλλησι πάνυ ζητῶν οὐκ ἔφη δύνασθαι ἰδεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀλαζονείαν οἶ γε δοκεῖν ἔφη εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἂν χρυσῆν πλάτανον οὐχ ἱκανὴν ἔφη εἶναι τέττιγι σκιὰν παρέχειν.

39 Ὡς δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι συνεκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἁπασῶν ἀκουσομένους τῆς παρὰ βασιλέως ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ ὁ Πέρσης ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα δείξας τὴν βασιλέως σφραγῖδα ἀνέγνω τὰ γεγραμμένα, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι ὀμνύναι ταῦτα ἐκέλευον βασιλεῖ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς βουλομένους φίλους εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ὀμούμενοι ἀλλ' ἀκουσόμενοι πεμφθείησαν· εἰ δέ τι ὅρκων δέοιντο, πρὸς τὰς πόλεις πέμπειν ἐκέλευον. ὁ μέντοι Ἀρκὰς Λυκομήδης καὶ τοῦτο

brought out a further writing: "And if the Athenians are aware of anything juster than these provisions, let them come to the King and inform him." Now when the ambassadors had returned to their several homes, Timagoras was put to death by the Athenians on the complaint of Leon that he had refused to share quarters with him and had taken counsel in all matters with Pelopidas. As for the other ambassadors, Archidamus, the Elean, praised the doings of the King, because he had honoured Elis above the Arcadians; but Antiochus, because the Arcadian League was less regarded, did not accept the royal gifts, and reported back to the Ten Thousand[1] that the King had bakers, and cooks, and wine-pourers, and door-keepers in vast numbers, but as for men who could fight with Greeks, he said that though he sought diligently he could not see any. Besides this, he said that for his part he thought that the King's wealth of money was also mere pretence, for he said that even the golden plane-tree, that was forever harped upon, was not large enough to afford shade for a grasshopper. 367 B.C.

When the Thebans had called together representatives from all the cities to hear the letter from the King, and the Persian who bore the document, having shown the King's seal, had read what was written therein, although the Thebans directed those who desired to be friends of the King and themselves to swear to these provisions, the representatives from the cities replied that they had not been sent to give their oaths, but to listen; and if the Thebans had any desire for oaths, they bade them send to the cities. Indeed the Arcadian, Lycomedes, said this besides,

[1] *i.e.* the Arcadian assembly.

ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸν σύλλογον ἐν Θήβαις δέοι εἶναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἔνθα ἂν ᾖ ὁ πόλεμος. χαλεπαινόντων δ᾽ αὐτῷ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ λεγόντων ὡς διαφθείροι τὸ συμμαχικόν, οὐδ᾽ εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἤθελε καθίζειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ
40 ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας πρέσβεις. ὡς δ᾽ ἐν Θήβαις οὐκ ἠθέλησαν οἱ συνελθόντες ὀμόσαι, ἔπεμπον οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὀμνύναι κελεύοντες ποιήσειν κατὰ τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα, νομίζοντες ὀκνήσειν μίαν ἑκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ἅμα ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς Κόρινθον πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἀφικομένων ὑπέστησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοιντο πρὸς βασιλέα κοινῶν ὅρκων, ἐπηκολούθησαν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἀποκρινόμεναι. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἡ Πελοπίδου καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τῆς ἀρχῆς περιβολὴ οὕτω διελύθη.

41 Αὖθις δ᾽ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, βουληθεὶς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς προσαγαγέσθαι, ὅπως μᾶλλον σφίσι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, ἔγνω ἐκστρατευτέον εἶναι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀχαΐαν. Πεισίαν οὖν τὸν Ἀργεῖον στρατηγοῦντα ἐν τῷ Ἄργει πείθει προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ Ὄνειον. καὶ ὁ Πεισίας μέντοι καταμαθὼν ἀμελουμένην τὴν τοῦ Ὀνείου φυλακὴν ὑπό τε Ναυκλέους, ὃς ἦρχε τοῦ ξενικοῦ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ ὑπὸ Τιμομάχου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, καταλαμβάνει νύκτωρ

that it was not even proper for the congress to be held in Thebes, but rather at the seat of war, wherever it might be. Then, since the Thebans were angry with him and said that he was destroying the compact of alliance, he refused even to occupy a seat at the congress, but took himself off, and with him went all the ambassadors from Arcadia. Accordingly, inasmuch as those who had come together refused to take the oath at Thebes, the Thebans sent ambassadors to the cities and directed them to swear that they would act in accordance with the King's letter, believing that each one of the cities taken singly would hesitate to incur the hatred of themselves and the King at the same time. When, however, upon the arrival of the ambassadors at Corinth, their first stopping-place, the Corinthians resisted the proposal, and replied that they had no desire for oaths shared with the King, then other cities also followed suit, giving their answers in the same terms. Thus it was that this attempt on the part of Pelopidas and the Thebans to gain the leadership came to its end. 367 B.C.

Epaminondas, on the other hand, wishing to bring over the Achaeans to the side of the Thebans, in order that the Arcadians and the other allies might be more inclined to give heed to them, decided that he must march forth against Achaea. He therefore persuaded Peisias, the Argive, who held the position of general at Argos, to occupy Oneum[1] in advance. And Peisias, after he had learned that the guard over Oneum was being maintained carelessly by Naucles, who commanded the mercenary troops of the Lacedaemonians, and by Timomachus, the Athenian, did

[1] A mountain range, south-east of Corinth, over which the road from Northern Greece into Peloponnesus passed.

μετὰ δισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν τὸν ὑπὲρ Κεγχρειῶν
42 λόφον, ἔχων ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐλθόντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὑπερβαίνουσι τὸ Ὄνειον, καὶ στρατεύουσι πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπ' Ἀχαΐαν, ἡγουμένου Ἐπαμεινώνδου. προσπεσόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν βελτίστων ἐκ τῆς Ἀχαΐας, ἐνδυναστεύει ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὥστε μὴ φυγαδεῦσαι τοὺς κρατίστους μήτε πολιτείαν μεταστῆσαι, ἀλλὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἦ μὴν συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθήσειν ὅποι ἂν Θηβαῖοι ἡγῶνται, οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν
43 οἴκαδε. κατηγορούντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν τε Ἀρκάδων καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ὡς Λακεδαιμονίοις κατεσκευακὼς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν ἀπέλθοι, ἔδοξε Θηβαίοις πέμψαι ἁρμοστὰς εἰς τὰς Ἀχαΐδας πόλεις. οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους σὺν τῷ πλήθει ἐξέβαλον, δημοκρατίας δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ κατέστησαν. οἱ μέντοι ἐκπεσόντες συστάντες ταχύ, ἐπὶ μίαν ἑκάστην τῶν πόλεων πορευόμενοι, ὄντες οὐκ ὀλίγοι, κατῆλθόν τε καὶ κατέσχον τὰς πόλεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελθόντες οὐκέτι ἐμέσευον, ἀλλὰ προθύμως συνεμάχουν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἔνθεν μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔνθεν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν.

44 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Σικυῶνι τὸ μὲν μέχρι τούτου κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους νόμους ἡ πολιτεία ἦν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου βουλόμενος ὁ Εὔφρων, ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μέγιστος ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν, οὕτω

indeed seize the hill above Cenchreae by night with two thousand hoplites, having provisions for seven days. Within this number of days the Thebans arrived and crossed over Oneum, and all the allies thereupon marched against Achaea, under the leadership of Epaminondas. Now upon the urgent entreaty which the aristocrats of Achaea addressed to him, Epaminondas effected through his personal influence an arrangement that their opponents were not to banish the aristocrats or to change the form of government, but after receiving pledges from the Achaeans that in very truth they would be allies and would follow wherever the Thebans led the way, he thereupon returned home. When, however, the Arcadians and the Achaean opposition brought against him the charge that he had arranged matters in Achaea in the interest of the Lacedaemonians and had then gone away, the Thebans resolved to send governors to the Achaean cities. When they arrived they drove out the aristocrats, with the assistance of the commons, and established democracies in Achaea. But those who had been thus exiled speedily banded themselves together, proceeded against each one of the cities singly, and as they were not few in number, accomplished their restoration and gained possession of the cities. Then, since after their restoration they no longer followed a neutral course, but fought zealously in support of the Lacedaemonians, the Arcadians were hard pressed by the Lacedaemonians on the one side and by the Achaeans on the other. 367 B.C.

As for Sicyon, its government up to this time had been in conformity with its ancient laws. But now Euphron, who had been the most powerful of the citizens in his influence with the Lacedaemonians

καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν πρωτεύειν, λέγει πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὡς εἰ μὲν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι ἐγκρατεῖς ἔσοιντο τοῦ Σικυῶνος, σαφῶς, ὅταν τύχῃ, πάλιν λακωνιεῖ ἡ πόλις· Ἐὰν δὲ δημοκρατία γένηται, εὖ ἴστε, ἔφη, ὅτι διαμενεῖ ὑμῖν ἡ πόλις. ἐὰν οὖν μοι παραγένησθε, ἐγὼ ἔσομαι ὁ συγκαλῶν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἅμα ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ταύτην πίστιν ἐμαυτοῦ δώσω καὶ τὴν πόλιν βέβαιον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ παρέξω. ταῦτα δ', ἔφη, ἐγὼ πράττω εὖ ἴστε ὅτι πάλαι μὲν χαλεπῶς φέρων, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς, τὸ φρόνημα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἄσμενος δ' ἂν τὴν δουλείαν
45 ἀποφυγών. οἱ οὖν Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἡδέως ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ παρόντων τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συνεκάλει τὸν δῆμον, ὡς τῆς πολιτείας ἐσομένης ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, στρατηγοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἑλέσθαι οὕστινας αὐτοῖς δοκοίη· οἱ δ' αἱροῦνται αὐτόν τε τὸν Εὔφρονα καὶ Ἱππόδαμον καὶ Κλέανδρον καὶ Ἀκρίσιον καὶ Λύσανδρον. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ξενικὸν καθίστησιν Ἀδέαν τὸν αὐτοῦ υἱόν, Λυσιμένην τὸν πρόσθεν ἄρχοντα
46 ἀποστήσας. καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν τούτων τῶν ξένων ὁ Εὔφρων πιστούς τινας εὖ ποιῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἄλλους προσελάμβανεν, οὔτε τῶν δημοσίων οὔτε τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων φειδόμενος. καὶ ὅσους δ' ἐξέβαλεν ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ, καὶ τοῖς τούτων χρή-

and wished in like manner to stand first with their adversaries also, said to the Argives and to the Arcadians that if the richest men should remain in control of Sicyon, it was manifest that whenever an opportunity offered, the city would go over to the Lacedaemonians again, "while if a democracy is established, be well assured," he said, "that the city will remain true to you. If, therefore, you will be at hand to support me, I will be the one to call the people together, and I will not only give you in this act a pledge of my good faith, but will make the city steadfast in its alliance with you. This I do, you must understand," he said, "because, like yourselves, I have long found the arrogance of the Lacedaemonians hard to endure, and I should be glad to escape from servitude to them." Accordingly the Arcadians and the Argives, upon hearing these words, gladly presented themselves to support him. Then he immediately called the people together in the market-place in the presence of the Argives and the Arcadians, announcing that the government was to be on terms of full equality. When they had come together, he bade them choose whomsoever they saw fit as generals; and they chose Euphron himself, Hippodamus, Cleander, Acrisius, and Lysander. When this had been done, he also appointed Adeas, his own son, to the command of the mercenary troops, removing Lysimenes, their former commander. And straightway Euphron made some of these mercenaries faithful to him by treating them generously, and took others into his pay, sparing neither the public nor the sacred funds. He likewise availed himself of the property of all those whom he banished for favouring the Lacedaemonians. 367 B.C.

μασιν ἐχρῆτο. καὶ τῶν συναρχόντων δὲ τοὺς μὲν δόλῳ ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν· ὥστε πάντα ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐποιήσατο καὶ σαφῶς τύραννος ἦν. ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέποιεν αὐτῷ οἱ σύμμαχοι, τὰ μέν τι καὶ χρήμασι διεπράττετο, τὰ δὲ καί, εἴ που στρατεύοιντο, προθύμως ἔχων τὸ ξενικὸν συνηκολούθει.

II. Οὕτω δὲ τούτων προκεχωρηκότων, καὶ τῶν τε Ἀργείων ἐπιτετειχικότων τῷ Φλειοῦντι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραίου Τρικάρανον, καὶ τῶν Σικυωνίων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῶν τειχιζόντων τὴν Θυαμίαν, μάλα ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Φλειάσιοι καὶ ἐσπάνιζον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὅμως δὲ διεκαρτέρουν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῶν μὲν μεγάλων πόλεων, εἴ τι καλὸν ἔπραξαν, ἅπαντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς μέμνηνται· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, καὶ εἴ τις μικρὰ πόλις οὖσα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα διαπέπρακται, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἄξιον
2 εἶναι ἀποφαίνειν. Φλειάσιοι τοίνυν φίλοι μὲν ἐγένοντο Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτ' ἐκεῖνοι μέγιστοι ἦσαν· σφαλέντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχῃ, καὶ ἀποστάντων μὲν πολλῶν περιοίκων, ἀποστάντων δὲ πάντων τῶν Εἱλώτων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων, ἐπιστρατευόντων δ' αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰπεῖν πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πιστοὶ διέμειναν, καὶ ἔχοντες πολεμίους τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀργείους ὅμως ἐβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ διαβαίνειν τελευταῖοι λαχόντες εἰς Πρασιὰς τῶν συμβοηθησάντων, ἦσαν

Furthermore, he treacherously put to death some 367 B.C.
of his fellow-officials and banished others, so that he brought everything under his control and was manifestly a tyrant. And he managed to induce his allies to permit these proceedings of his, partly by the use of money, and partly by following with them zealously at the head of his mercenary force wherever they made an expedition.

II. When these matters had progressed to this 366 B.C.
point and the Argives had fortified Mount Tricaranum, above the Heraeum, as a base of attack upon Phlius, while the Sicyonians were fortifying Thyamia on its borders, the Phliasians were exceedingly hard pressed and suffered from lack of provisions; nevertheless, they remained steadfast in their alliance. But I will speak further of them; for while all the historians make mention of the large states if they have performed any noble achievement, it seems to me that if a state which is small has accomplished many noble deeds, it is even more fitting to set them forth. Now the Phliasians had become friends of the Lacedaemonians at a time when they were greatest; and when they had been defeated in the battle at Leuctra, when many of the Perioeci had revolted from them and all the Helots also had revolted, and likewise their allies with the exception of a very few, and when all the Greeks, one might say, were in the field against them, the Phliasians remained steadfastly faithful, and, though they had as enemies the most powerful of the peoples in Peloponnesus—
the Arcadians and Argives—nevertheless went to 370 B.C.
their assistance. Furthermore, when it fell to their lot to cross over to Prasiae last of those who joined in the expedition (and these were the Corinthians,

δ' οὗτοι Κορίνθιοι, Ἐπιδαύριοι, Τροιζήνιοι, Ἑρ-
3 μιονεῖς, Ἁλιεῖς, Σικυώνιοι καὶ Πελληνεῖς· οὐ γάρ πω τότε ἀφέστασαν—οὐδ'[1] ἐπεὶ ὁ ξεναγὸς τοὺς προδιαβεβῶτας λαβὼν ἀπολιπὼν αὐτοὺς ᾤχετο, οὐδ' ὣς ἀπεστράφησαν, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνα μισθωσάμενοι ἐκ Πρασιῶν, ὄντων τῶν πολεμίων περὶ Ἀμύκλας, ὅπως ἐδύναντο διαδύντες εἰς Σπάρτην ἀφίκοντο. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἄλλως τε ἐτίμων αὐτοὺς καὶ βοῦν ξένια ἔπεμψαν.
4 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναχωρησάντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ὀργιζόμενοι τῇ τῶν Φλειασίων περὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους προθυμίᾳ ἐνέβαλον πανδημεὶ εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδῄουν, οὐδ' ὣς ὑφίεντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀπεχώρουν φθείραντες ὅσα ἐδύναντο, ἐπεξελθόντες οἱ τῶν Φλειασίων ἱππεῖς ἐπηκολούθουν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀπισθοφυλακούντων τοῖς Ἀργείοις τῶν ἱππέων ἁπάντων καὶ λόχων τῶν μετ' αὐτοὺς τεταγμένων, ἐπιθέμενοι τούτοις ἑξήκοντα ὄντες ἐτρέψαντο πάντας τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας· καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ὀλίγους αὐτῶν, τροπαῖον μέντοι ἐστήσαντο ὁρώντων τῶν Ἀργείων οὐδὲν διαφέρον ἢ εἰ πάντας ἀπεκτόνεσαν αὐτούς.

5 Αὖθις δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐφρούρουν τὸ Ὄνειον, Θηβαῖοι δὲ προσῇσαν ὡς ὑπερβησόμενοι. πορευομένων δὲ διὰ Νεμέας τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἠλείων, ὅπως συμμείξαιεν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, προσήνεγκαν μὲν λόγον τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδες ὡς εἰ ἐθελήσειαν ἐπιφανῆναι μόνον σφίσι,

[1] Before οὐδ' the MSS. have ἀλλ' : Kel. brackets, following Hartman.

Epidaurians, Troezenians, Hermionians, Halians, 370 B.C.
Sicyonians, and Pelleneans—for at that time the last mentioned had not yet revolted from the Lacedaemonians), even when the Lacedaemonian leader went off with those who had crossed first and left the Phliasians, even so they did not turn back, but hired a guide from Prasiae, and, although the enemy were in the neighbourhood of Amyclae, slipped through as best they could and reached Sparta. And the Lacedaemonians, besides honouring them in other ways, sent them an ox as a gift of hospitality.
Again, when the enemy had retired from Lacedae- 369 B.C.
mon, and the Argives, in anger at the devotion of the Phliasians toward the Lacedaemonians, had invaded the territory of Phlius in full force and were laying waste their land, even then they did not yield; but when the Argives were withdrawing, after having destroyed as much as they could, the horsemen of the Phliasians sallied forth and followed after them, and, although all the Argive horsemen and the companies posted behind them were employed to guard their rear, the Phliasians nevertheless, who were but sixty in number, attacked these troops and turned to flight the entire rearguard; to be sure they killed but few of them, yet they set up a trophy, with the Argives looking on, precisely as if they had killed them all.

Once again, the Lacedaemonians and their allies were guarding Oneum, and the Thebans were approaching with the intention of crossing over the mountain. At this time, as the Arcadians and Eleans were marching through Nemea in order to effect a junction with the Thebans, exiles of the Phliasians made them an offer that if they would only put in

λάβοιεν ἂν Φλειοῦντα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα συνωμολογήθη, τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπεκαθίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτῷ τῷ τείχει κλίμακας ἔχοντες οἵ τε φυγάδες καὶ ἄλλοι μετ' αὐτῶν ὡς ἑξακόσιοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν σκοποὶ ἐσήμαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρικαράνου ὡς πολεμίων ἐπιόντων, ἡ δὲ πόλις πρὸς τούτους τὸν νοῦν εἶχεν, ἐν δὴ τούτῳ οἱ προδιδόντες ἐσήμαινον τοῖς ὑπο-
6 καθημένοις ἀναβαίνειν. οἱ δ' ἀναβάντες καὶ λαβόντες τῶν φρουρῶν τὰ ὅπλα ἔρημα, ἐδίωκον τοὺς ἡμεροφύλακας ὄντας δέκα· ἀφ' ἑκάστης δὲ τῆς πεμπάδος εἷς ἡμεροφύλαξ κατελείπετο· καὶ ἕνα μὲν ἔτι καθεύδοντα ἀπέκτειναν, ἄλλον δὲ καταφυγόντα πρὸς τὸ Ἧραιον. φυγῇ δ' ἐξαλλομένων κατὰ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ὁρῶντος τῶν ἡμεροφυλάκων, ἀναμφισβητήτως εἶχον
7 οἱ ἀναβάντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κραυγῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφικομένης ἐβοήθουν οἱ πολῖται, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεξελθόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως οἱ πολέμιοι ἐμάχοντο ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν φερουσῶν πυλῶν· ἔπειτα πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν προσβοηθούντων ἐχώρουν πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· οἱ δὲ πολῖται συνεισπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέσον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εὐθὺς ἔρημον ἐγένετο· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἔπαιον καὶ ἔβαλλον τοὺς ἔνδον. οἱ δὲ χαμόθεν ἠμύνοντο καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ
8 τὸ τεῖχος φερούσας κλίμακας προσεμάχοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πύργων ἐκράτησάν τινων

an appearance to help their party, they would capture 369 B.C. Phlius; and when this plan had been agreed upon, during the night the exiles and others with them, about six hundred in number, set themselves in ambush close under the wall with scaling ladders. Then as soon as the watchmen signalled from Tricaranum that enemies were approaching, and the city was giving its attention to these last, at this moment those who sought to betray the city signalled to the people in ambush to climb up. When they had climbed up and found the posts of the guards weakly manned, they pursued the day-guards, who numbered ten (for one out of each squad of five was regularly left behind as a day-guard); and they killed one while he was still asleep and another after he had fled for refuge to the Heraeum. And since the other day-guards in their flight leaped down from the wall on the side looking toward the city, the men who had climbed up were in undisputed possession of the Acropolis. But when an outcry reached the city and the citizens came to the rescue, at first the enemy issued forth from the Acropolis and fought in the space in front of the gates which lead to the city; afterwards, being beset on all sides by those who came against them, they withdrew again to the Acropolis; and the citizens poured in with them. Now the space within the Acropolis was cleared at once, but the enemy mounted upon the wall and the towers and showered blows and missiles upon the people who were within. Meanwhile the latter defended themselves from the ground and attacked the enemy by the steps which led up to the wall. When, however, the citizens gained possession of some of the towers on this side and on that, they

οἱ πολῖται, ὁμόσε δὴ ἐχώρουν ἀπονενοημένως τοῖς ἀναβεβηκόσιν. οἱ δὲ ὠθούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῇ τόλμῃ τε καὶ μάχῃ εἰς ἔλαττον συνειλοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκυκλοῦντο, καὶ κατὰ κεφαλὴν τὸ τεῖχος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως διώρυττον· τῶν δ' ἔνδοθεν οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἔτι ἀναβαίνοντας, ἐπὶ ταῖς κλίμαξιν ὄντας, ἔπαιον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἐμάχοντο, καὶ πῦρ εὑρόντες ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ὑφῆπτον αὐτούς, προσφοροῦντες τῶν δραγμάτων ἃ ἔτυχον ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τεθερισμένα. ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τὴν φλόγα φοβούμενοι ἐξήλλοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν παιόμενοι ἐξέπιπτον.
9 ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαξ ἤρξαντο ὑπείκειν, ταχὺ δὴ πᾶσα ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἔρημος τῶν πολεμίων ἐγεγένητο. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐξήλαυνον· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς ἀπεχώρουν, καταλιπόντες τάς τε κλίμακας καὶ τοὺς νεκρούς, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἀποκεχωλευμένους. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἵ τε ἔνδον μαχόμενοι καὶ οἱ ἔξω ἀλλόμενοι οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα. ἔνθα δὴ θεάσασθαι παρῆν ἐπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας δεξιουμένους ἀλλήλους, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας πιεῖν τε φερούσας καὶ

[1] The wall of the Acropolis on one side made part of the city wall, while on the other side it separated the Acropolis from the lower city. The Arcadians and Argives are

closed in desperate battle with those who had 369 B.C. mounted upon their walls. And the enemy, as they were forced back by them—by their courage as well as by their fighting—were being crowded together into an ever smaller space. At this critical moment the Arcadians and Argives were circling around the city and beginning to dig through the wall of the Acropolis from its upper side;[1] and as for the citizens within, some were dealing blows upon the people on the wall, others upon those who were still climbing up from the outside and were on the ladders, and still others were fighting against those among the enemy who had mounted upon the towers; they also found fire in the tents and began to set the towers ablaze from below, bringing up some sheaves which chanced to have been harvested on the Acropolis itself. Then the people upon the towers, in fear of the flames, jumped off one after another, while those upon the walls, under the blows of their human adversaries, kept falling off. And when they had once begun to give way, speedily the whole Acropolis had become bare of the enemy. Thereupon the horsemen straightway sallied forth from the city; and the enemy upon seeing them retired, leaving behind their ladders, their dead, and likewise some of the living who had been badly lamed. And the number of the enemy who were killed, both in the fighting within and by leaping down without, was not less than eighty. Then one might have beheld the men congratulating one another with handclasps on their preservation, and the women bringing them

manifestly attacking the first mentioned, *i.e.* outer, part of the wall of the Acropolis; but the precise meaning of κατὰ κεφαλήν is uncertain.

ἅμα χαρᾷ δακρυούσας. πάντας δὲ τοὺς παρόντας τότε γε τῷ ὄντι κλαυσίγελως εἶχεν.

10 Ἐνέβαλον δὲ καὶ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα οἵ τε Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἅπαντες. αἴτιον δ' ἦν τοῦ ἐπικεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ τοῖς Φλειασίοις ὅτι ἅμα μὲν ὠργίζοντο αὐτοῖς, ἅμα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ εἶχον, καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἦσαν ἀεὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παραστήσεσθαι αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι τῶν Φλειασίων καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐμβολῇ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιτίθενται σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππεῦσι· καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐποίησαν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τὰς ἀκρωρείας ὑποχωρεῖν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ φιλίου καρποῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ φυλαττομένους μὴ καταπατήσειαν.

11 Αὖθις δέ ποτε ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα ὁ ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι ἄρχων Θηβαῖος, ἄγων οὕς τε αὐτὸς εἶχε φρουροὺς καὶ Σικυωνίους καὶ Πελληνέας· ἤδη γὰρ τότε ἠκολούθουν τοῖς Θηβαίοις· καὶ Εὔφρων δὲ τοὺς αὑτοῦ ἔχων μισθοφόρους περὶ δισχιλίους συνεστρατεύετο. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ Τρικαράνου κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ Ἥραιον, ὡς τὸ πεδίον φθεροῦντες· κατὰ δὲ τὰς εἰς Κόρινθον φερούσας πύλας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄκρου κατέλιπε Σικυωνίους τε καὶ Πελληνέας, ὅπως μὴ ταύτῃ περιελθόντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι κατὰ κεφαλὴν
12 αὐτῶν γένοιντο ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραίου. ὡς δ' ἔγνωσαν

drink and at the same time crying for joy. Indeed, "laughter mingled with tears"[1] did on that occasion really possess all who were present. 369 B.C.

In the following year likewise the Argives and all the Arcadians invaded the territory of Phlius. The reason for their continually besetting the Phliasians was partly that they were angry with them, and partly that they had the country of the Phliasians between them, and were always in hope that through want of provisions they would bring them to terms. But on this invasion also the horsemen and the picked troops of the Phliasians, along with the horsemen of the Athenians who were present, attacked them at the crossing of the river; and having won the victory, they made the enemy retire under the heights for the rest of the day, just as if they were keeping carefully away from the corn in the plain as the property of friends, so as not to trample it down. 368 B.C.

On another occasion the Theban governor at Sicyon marched upon Phlius at the head of the garrison which he had under his own command, and of the Sicyonians and Pelleneans—for at that time they were already following the Thebans; and Euphron also took part in the expedition with his mercenaries, about two thousand in number. Now the main body of the troops descended along Tricaranum toward the Heraeum with the intention of laying waste the plain; but the commander left the Sicyonians and Pelleneans behind upon the height over against the gates leading to Corinth, so that the Phliasians should not go around by that way and get above his men at the Heraeum. When, however, the people 366 B.C.

[1] An allusion to *Iliad* vi. 484.

οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον ὡρμημένους, ἀντεξελθόντες οἵ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι τῶν Φλειασίων ἐμάχοντο καὶ οὐκ ἀνίεσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐνταῦθα ἀκροβολιζόμενοι διῆγον, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Εὔφρονα ἐπιδιώκοντες μέχρι τοῦ ἱππασίμου, οἱ δὲ ἔνδοθεν μέχρι τοῦ Ἡραίου.
13 ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἀπῇσαν οἱ πολέμιοι κύκλῳ τοῦ Τρικαράνου· ὥστε γὰρ τὴν σύντομον πρὸς τοὺς Πελληνέας ἀφικέσθαι ἡ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους φάραγξ εἶργε. μικρὸν δ' αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον προπέμψαντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἵεντο τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πελληνέας καὶ
14 τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Θηβαῖον δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν Φλειασίων ἡμιλλῶντο ὅπως φθάσειαν τοῖς Πελληνεῦσι βοηθήσαντες. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ πρότεροι οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐμβάλλουσι τοῖς Πελληνεῦσι. δεξαμένων δὲ τὸ πρῶτον, ἐπαναχωρήσαντες πάλιν σὺν τοῖς παραγεγενημένοις τῶν πεζῶν ἐνέβαλον καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐγκλίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ἀποθνῄσκουσι τῶν τε Σικυωνίων τινὲς καὶ τῶν Πελληνέων μάλα πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνδρες
15 ἀγαθοί. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ μὲν Φλειάσιοι τροπαῖον ἵσταντο λαμπρὸν παιανίζοντες, ὥσπερ εἰκός· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Θηβαῖον καὶ τὸν Εὔφρονα περιεώρων ταῦτα, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θέαν παραδεδραμηκότες. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνος ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπεχώρησαν.

in the city perceived that the enemy had set out 366 B.C.
for the plain, the horsemen and the picked troops of the Phliasians sallied forth against them, gave battle, and did not allow them to make their way to the plain. And they spent most of the day there in fighting at long range, the troops of Euphron pursuing up to the point where the country was suited for cavalry, and the men from the city as far as the Heraeum. When, however, it seemed to be the proper time, the enemy retired by a circuitous route over Tricaranum, for the ravine in front of the wall prevented them from reaching the Pelleneans by the direct way. Then the Phliasians, after following them a little way up the hill, turned back and charged along the road which leads past the wall, against the Pelleneans and those with them. And the troops of the Theban general, upon perceiving the haste of the Phliasians, began racing with them in order to reach the Pelleneans first and give them aid. The horsemen, however, arrived first, and attacked the Pelleneans. And when at the outset they withstood the attack, the Phliasians fell back, but then attacked again in company with such of the foot-soldiers as had come up, and fought hand-to-hand. At this the enemy gave way, and some of the Sicyonians fell and very many of the Pelleneans, and brave men, too. When these things had taken place the Phliasians set up a trophy, sounding their paean loudly, as was natural; and the troops of the Theban general and Euphron allowed all this to go on, just as if they had made their race to see a spectacle. Then, after these proceedings were finished, the one party departed for Sicyon and the other returned to the city.

16 Καλὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διεπράξαντο οἱ Φλειάσιοι· τὸν γὰρ Πελληνέα Πρόξενον[1] ζῶντα λαβόντες, καίπερ πάντων σπανιζόμενοι, ἀφῆκαν ἄνευ λύτρων. γενναίους μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀλκίμους πῶς οὐκ ἄν τις φαίη εἶναι τοὺς τοιαῦτα διαπραττομένους;

17 Ὥς γε μὴν καὶ διὰ καρτερίας τὴν πίστιν τοῖς φίλοις διέσῳζον περιφανές· οἳ ἐπεὶ εἴργοντο τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν, ἔζων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας λαμβάνοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐκ Κορίνθου ὠνούμενοι, διὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἰόντες, χαλεπῶς μὲν τιμὴν πορίζοντες, χαλεπῶς δὲ τοὺς κομίζοντας διαπορεύοντες, γλίσχρως δ' ἐγγυητὰς

18 καθιστάντες τῶν ἀξόντων ὑποζυγίων. ἤδη δὲ παντάπασιν ἀποροῦντες Χάρητα διεπράξαντο σφίσι παραπέμψαι τὴν παραπομπήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Φλειοῦντι ἐγένετο, ἐδεήθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀχρείους συνεκπέμψαι εἰς τὴν Πελλήνην. κἀκείνους μὲν ἐκεῖ κατέλιπον, ἀγοράσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐπισκευασάμενοι ὁπόσα ἐδύναντο ὑποζύγια νυκτὸς ἀπῇσαν, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐνεδρεύσοιντο ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες χαλεπώτερον

19 εἶναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τἀπιτήδεια. καὶ προῇσαν μὲν οἱ Φλειάσιοι μετὰ Χάρητος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνέτυχον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εὐθὺς ἔργου τε εἴχοντο καὶ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐνέκειντο, καὶ

[1] Πρόξενον Schneider: πρόξενον Kel. with MSS.

Another noble deed which the Phliasians performed was this: when they had made a prisoner of Proxenus, the Pellenean, even though they were in want of everything, they let him go without a ransom. How could one help saying that men who performed such deeds were noble and valiant? 366 B.C.

Furthermore, that it was only by stout endurance that they maintained their fidelity to their friends is clearly manifest; for when they were shut off from the products of their land, they lived partly by what they could get from the enemy's territory, and partly by buying from Corinth; they went to the market through the midst of many dangers, with difficulty provided the price of supplies, with difficulty brought through the enemy's lines the people who fetched these supplies, and were hard put to it to find men who would guarantee the safety of the beasts of burden which were to convey them. At length, when they were in desperate straits, they arranged that Chares[1] should escort their supply train. Upon his arrival at Phlius they begged him to help them also to convoy their non-combatants to Pellene.[2] Accordingly they left these people at Pellene, and after making their purchases and packing as many beasts of burden as they could, they set off during the night, not unaware that they would be ambushed by the enemy, but thinking that to be without provisions was a more grievous thing than fighting. Now the Phliasians, together with Chares, went on ahead, and when they came upon the enemy they immediately set to work, and, cheering one another on, pressed their attack, while at the same time

[1] An Athenian general.

[2] Since the events described in §§ 11–16 above Pellene had rejoined the Lacedaemonian alliance.

ἅμα Χάρητα ἐπιβοηθεῖν ἐβόων. νίκης δὲ γενομένης καὶ ἐκβληθέντων ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν πολεμίων, οὕτω δὴ οἴκαδε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἃ ἦγον ἀπέσωσαν.

Ὡς δὲ τὴν νύκτα ἠγρύπνησαν, ἐκάθευδον μέχρι
20 πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέστη ὁ Χάρης, προσελθόντες οἵ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ χρησιμώτατοι τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἔλεγον· Ὦ Χάρης, ἔξεστί σοι τήμερον κάλλιστον ἔργον διαπράξασθαι. χωρίον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις ἡμῖν οἱ Σικυώνιοι τειχίζουσιν, οἰκοδόμους μὲν πολλοὺς ἔχοντες, ὁπλίτας δὲ οὐ πάνυ πολλούς. ἡγησόμεθα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν οἱ ἐρρωμενέστατοι· σὺ δὲ τὸ ξενικὸν ἔχων ἐὰν ἀκολουθῇς, ἴσως μὲν διαπεπραγμένα σοι καταλήψῃ, ἴσως δὲ ἐπιφανεὶς σὺ ῥοπήν, ὥσπερ ἐν Πελλήνῃ, ποιήσεις. εἰ δέ τι δυσχερές σοι ἐστὶν ὧν λέγομεν, ἀνακοίνωσαι τοῖς θεοῖς θυόμενος· οἰόμεθα γὰρ ἔτι σε μᾶλλον ἡμῶν τοὺς θεοὺς ταῦτα πράττειν κελεύσειν. τοῦτο δὲ χρή, ὦ Χάρης, εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἐὰν ταῦτα πράξῃς, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐπιτετειχικὼς ἔσει, φιλίαν δὲ πόλιν διασεσωκώς, εὐκλεέστατος δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἔσει, ὀνομαστότατος δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
21 συμμάχοις καὶ πολεμίοις. ὁ μὲν δὴ Χάρης πεισθεὶς ἐθύετο, τῶν δὲ Φλειασίων εὐθὺς οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τοὺς θώρακας ἐνεδύοντο καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ ὁπλῖται ὅσα εἰς πεζὸν παρεσκευάζοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα ἐπορεύ-

they shouted to Chares to come to their aid. And when victory had been achieved and the enemy driven out of the road, in this wise they brought home in safety both themselves and the supplies they were conveying. 366 B.C.

Now inasmuch as the Phliasians had passed the night without sleep, they slept until far on in the day. But when Chares arose, the horsemen and the best of the hoplites came to him and said: "Chares, it is within your power to-day to accomplish a splendid deed. For the Sicyonians are fortifying a place upon our borders,[1] and they have many builders but not very many hoplites. Now therefore we, the horsemen and the stoutest of the hoplites, will lead the way; and if you will follow us with your mercenary force, perhaps you will find the business already settled for you, and perhaps your appearance will turn the scale, as happened at Pellene. But if anything in what we propose is unacceptable to you, consult the gods by sacrifices; for we think that the gods will bid you do this even more urgently than we do. And this, Chares, you should well understand, that if you accomplish these things you will have secured a stronghold as a base of attack upon the enemy and have preserved a friendly city, and you will win the fairest of fame in your fatherland and be most renowned among both allies and enemies." Chares accordingly was persuaded and offered sacrifice, while on the Phliasian side the horsemen straightway put on their breastplates and bridled their horses, and the hoplites made all the preparations necessary for infantry. When they had taken up their arms and were proceeding to the place

[1] *cp.* § 1.

οντο ἔνθα ἐθύετο, ἀπήντα αὐτοῖς ὁ Χάρης καὶ ὁ μάντις, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι καλὰ τὰ ἱερά. Ἀλλὰ περιμένετε, ἔφασαν· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔξιμεν. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐκηρύχθη, θείᾳ τινὶ προθυμίᾳ καὶ
22 οἱ μισθοφόροι ταχὺ ἐξέδραμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Χάρης ἤρξατο πορεύεσθαι, προῇσαν αὐτοῦ οἱ τῶν Φλειασίων ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ταχέως ἡγοῦντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐτρόχαζον· τέλος δὲ οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς κατὰ κράτος ἤλαυνον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ κατὰ κράτος ἔθεον ὡς δυνατὸν ἐν τάξει, οἷς καὶ ὁ Χάρης σπουδῇ ἐπηκολούθει. ἦν μὲν οὖν τῆς ὥρας μικρὸν πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου· κατελάμβανον δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ τείχει πολεμίους τοὺς μὲν λουομένους, τοὺς δ᾽ ὀψοποιουμένους, τοὺς δὲ φυρῶντας,
23 τοὺς δὲ στιβάδας ποιουμένους. ὡς δ᾽ εἶδον τὴν σφοδρότητα τῆς ἐφόδου, εὐθὺς ἐκπλαγέντες ἔφυγον, καταλιπόντες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι πάντα τἀπιτήδεια. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν ταῦτα δειπνήσαντες καὶ οἴκοθεν ἄλλα ἐλθόντα, ὡς ἐπ᾽ εὐτυχίᾳ σπείσαντες καὶ παιανίσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι, κατέδαρθον. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἀφικομένου τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγγέλου περὶ τῆς Θυαμίας, μάλα φιλικῶς κηρύξαντες τὰ ζεύγη καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια πάντα καὶ σίτου γεμίσαντες εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα παρήγαγον· καὶ ἕωσπερ ἐτειχίζετο τὸ τεῖχος, ἑκάστης ἡμέρας παραπομπαὶ ἐγίγνοντο.

III. Περὶ μὲν δὴ Φλειασίων, ὡς καὶ πιστοὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐγένοντο καὶ ἄλκιμοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ

where he was sacrificing, Chares and the seer met them and said that the sacrifices were favourable. "Wait for us," they said, "for we, too, will set forth at once." And as soon as word had been given by the herald, Chares' mercenaries also speedily rushed out with a kind of heaven-sent eagerness. Now when Chares had begun to march, the cavalry and infantry of the Phliasians went on ahead of him; and at first they led the way rapidly, and then they began to run; finally, the horsemen were riding at the top of their speed and the foot-soldiers were running as fast as it is possible for men in line to go, while after them came Chares, following in haste. The time was a little before sunset, and they found the enemy at the fortress, some bathing, some cooking, some kneading, and some making their beds. Now so soon as the enemy saw the vehemence of the onset they straightway fled in terror, leaving all their provisions behind for these brave men. The latter accordingly made their dinner off these provisions and more which came from home, and after pouring libations in honour of their good fortune, singing a paean, and posting guards, they went to sleep. And the Corinthians, after news had reached them during the night in regard to Thyamia, in a most friendly way ordered out by proclamation all their teams and pack-animals, loaded them with corn, and convoyed them to Phlius; and so long as the fortifications were building,[1] convoys continued to be sent out every day. 366 B.C.

III. The story of the Phliasians, then, how they proved themselves faithful to their friends and continued valiant in the war, and how, though in want

[1] Now by the Phliasians.

διετέλεσαν, καὶ ὡς πάντων σπανίζοντες διέμενοι ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ, εἴρηται. σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Αἰνέας Στυμφάλιος, στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀρκάδων γεγενημένος, νομίσας οὐκ ἀνεκτῶς ἔχειν τὰ ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι, ἀναβὰς σὺν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συγκαλεῖ τῶν Σικυωνίων τῶν τε ἔνδον ὄντων τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τοὺς ἄνευ δόγματος ἐκπεπτωκότας μετεπέμπετο.
2 φοβηθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Εὔφρων καταφεύγει εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Σικυωνίων, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος Πασίμηλον ἐκ Κορίνθου, διὰ τούτου παραδίδωσι τὸν λιμένα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ αὖ τῇ συμμαχίᾳ ἀνεστρέφετο, λέγων ὡς Λακεδαιμονίοις διατελοίη πιστὸς ὤν. ὅτε γὰρ ψῆφος ἐδίδοτο ἐν τῇ πόλει, εἰ δοκοίη ἀφίστασθαι, μετ'
3 ὀλίγων ἀποψηφίσασθαι ἔφη· ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς προδόντας ἑαυτὸν βουλόμενος τιμωρήσασθαι δῆμον καταστῆσαι. Καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, φεύγουσιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες οἱ ὑμᾶς προδιδόντες. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐδυνάσθην ἐγώ, ὅλην ἂν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέστην. νῦν δ' οὗ ἐγκρατὴς ἐγενόμην τὸν λιμένα παραδέδωκα ὑμῖν. ἠκροῶντο μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα· ὁπόσοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο οὐ πάνυ κατάδηλον.

4 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπείπερ ἠρξάμην, διατελέσαι βούλομαι τὰ περὶ Εὔφρονος. στασιασάντων γὰρ ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι τῶν τε βελτίστων καὶ τοῦ δήμου, λαβὼν ὁ Εὔφρων Ἀθήνηθεν ξενικὸν πάλιν κατέρχεται. καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἄστεως ἐκράτει σὺν τῷ δήμῳ·

of everything, they remained steadfast in their alliance, has been told. At about this time Aeneas the Stymphalian, who had become general of the Arcadians, thinking that conditions in Sicyon were not to be endured, went up to the Acropolis with his own army, called together the aristocrats among the Sicyonians who were in the city, and sent after those who had been exiled therefrom without a decree of the people. And Euphron, seized with fear at these proceedings, fled for refuge to the port of the Sicyonians, and after summoning Pasimelus to come from Corinth, through him handed over the port to the Lacedaemonians and appeared once more in their alliance, saying that he had all the time remained faithful to the Lacedaemonians. For he said that at the time when a vote was taken in the city as to whether the Sicyonians should decide to revolt from them, he, with a few others, voted against it; and that afterwards he had set up a democracy out of his desire to avenge himself on those who had betrayed him. "And at this moment," he said, "all who were traitors to you are in exile by my act. Now if I had found myself able, I should have gone over to you with the entire city. As it is, I have given over to you the port, over which alone I had gained control." Those who heard him say these words were many, but how many believed him is by no means clear. 366 B.C.

However, since I have begun it, I desire to finish the story of Euphron. When the aristocrats and the commons at Sicyon had fallen into strife, Euphron obtained a force of mercenaries from Athens and came back again. And with the help of the commons

Θηβαίου δὲ ἁρμοστοῦ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔχοντος, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενος τῶν Θηβαίων ἐχόντων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς πόλεως κρατεῖν, συσκευασάμενος χρήματα ᾤχετο, ὡς τούτοις πείσων Θηβαίους ἐκβάλλειν μὲν τοὺς κρατίστους, παρα-
5 δοῦναι δ' αὐτῷ πάλιν τὴν πόλιν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ πρόσθεν φυγάδες τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρασκευήν, ἀντεπορεύοντο εἰς τὰς Θήβας. ὡς δ' ἑώρων αὐτὸν οἰκείως τοῖς ἄρχουσι συνόντα, φοβηθέντες μὴ διαπράξαιτο ἃ βούλεται, παρεκινδύνευσάν τινες καὶ ἀποσφάττουσιν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τὸν Εὔφρονα, τῶν τε ἀρχόντων καὶ τῆς βουλῆς συγκαθημένων. οἱ μέντοι ἄρχοντες τοὺς ποιήσαντας εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν βουλήν, καὶ ἔλεγον τάδε.

6 Ὦ ἄνδρες πολῖται, ἡμεῖς τουτουσὶ τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας Εὔφρονα διώκομεν περὶ θανάτου, ὁρῶντες ὅτι οἱ μὲν σώφρονες οὐδὲν δήπου ἄδικον οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ ποιοῦσι μέν, λανθάνειν δὲ πειρῶνται, οὗτοι δὲ τοσοῦτον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερβεβλήκασι τόλμῃ τε καὶ μιαρίᾳ ὥστε παρ' αὐτάς τε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς τοὺς κυρίους οὕστινας δεῖ ἀποθνῄσκειν καὶ οὕστινας μή, αὐτογνωμονήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ἄνδρα. εἰ οὖν οὗτοι μὴ δώσουσι τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην, τίς ποτε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν θαρρῶν πορεύσεται; τί δὲ πείσεται ἡ πόλις, εἰ ἐξέσται τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀποκτεῖναι πρὶν δηλῶσαι ὅτου ἕνεκα ἥκει ἕκαστος; ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ τούτους διώκομεν ὡς

he was master of the town; a Theban governor, however, held the Acropolis, and since Euphron realized that with the Thebans holding the Acropolis he could not possibly be master of the state, he got together money and set out with the intention of persuading the Thebans, by means of this money, to banish the aristocrats and give the state over to him again. When, however, the former exiles learned of his journey and his plans, they likewise proceeded to Thebes. And as they saw him in familiar association with the Theban officials, they were seized with fear that he might accomplish what he wanted, and some of them took the risk and slew Euphron upon the Acropolis while the officials and the senate were in session there. But the officials brought those who had done the deed before the senate and spoke as follows: 366 B.C.

"Fellow citizens, we arraign on the capital charge these men who have slain Euphron, seeing, as we do, that while right-minded men commit no unjust or unrighteous deed, and the wicked, although they commit them, strive to do them in secret, these persons have so far surpassed all mankind in hardihood and villainy that in the presence of the very magistrates and in the presence of you, who alone have authority to decide who shall die and who shall not, they took decision into their own hands and slew the man. Therefore if these men do not suffer the extreme penalty, who will ever have the courage to visit our city? And what will become of the city if any one who so desires is to be allowed to slay a man before he has made known for what purpose he has come here? We, then, arraign these men

ἀνοσιωτάτους καὶ ἀδικωτάτους καὶ ἀνομωτάτους καὶ πλεῖστον δὴ ὑπεριδόντας τῆς πόλεως. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀκηκοότες, ὁποίας τινὸς ὑμῖν δοκοῦσιν ἄξιοι εἶναι δίκης, ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπίθετε.

7 Οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τοιαῦτα εἶπον· τῶν δὲ ἀποκτεινάντων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἠρνοῦντο μὴ αὐτόχειρες γεγενῆσθαι· εἷς δὲ ὡμολογήκει, καὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας ὧδέ πως ἤρχετο. Ἀλλ' ὑπερορᾶν μέν, ὦ Θηβαῖοι, οὐ δυνατὸν ὑμῶν ἀνδρὶ ὃς εἰδείη κυρίους μὲν[1] ὄντας ὅ τι βούλεσθε αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι· τίνι μὴν πιστεύων ἐνθάδε ἀπέκτεινα τὸν ἄνδρα; εὖ ἴστε ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν τῷ νομίζειν δίκαιον ποιεῖν, ἔπειτα δὲ τῷ ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς γνώσεσθαι· ᾔδειν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην, οὓς ἐλάβετε ὅμοια Εὔφρονι πεποιηκότας, οὐ ψῆφον ἀνεμείνατε, ἀλλὰ ὁπότε πρῶτον ἐδυνάσθητε ἐτιμωρήσασθε, νομίζοντες τῶν τε περιφανῶς ἀνοσίων καὶ τῶν φανερῶς προδοτῶν καὶ τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρούντων ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων θάνατον κατεγνῶσθαι.
8 οὔκουν καὶ Εὔφρων πᾶσι τούτοις ἔνοχος ἦν; παραλαβὼν μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἱερὰ μεστὰ καὶ ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν ἀναθημάτων κενὰ πάντων τούτων ἀπέδειξε. προδότης γε μὴν τίς ἂν περιφανέστερος Εὔφρονος εἴη, ὃς φιλαίτατος μὲν ὢν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑμᾶς ἀντ' ἐκείνων εἵλετο· πιστὰ δὲ δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν παρ' ὑμῶν πάλιν προύδωκεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸν λιμένα; καὶ μὴν πῶς οὐκ ἀπροφασίστως τύραννος ἦν, ὃς δού-

[1] μὲν MSS. : Kel. brackets.

as utterly unrighteous, unjust, and lawless, and as having shown the utmost contempt for our city. It is for you, after you have heard, to inflict upon them such penalty as they seem to you to deserve." 366 B.C.

Such were the words of the officials; as for those who had slain Euphron, all except one denied that they had been the perpetrators of the deed; but one had admitted it, and began his defence in some such words as these: "Surely, Thebans, to feel contempt for you is not possible for a man if he knows that you have authority to do with him as you will; in what, then, did I trust when I here slew the man? Be well assured that it was first of all in the belief that I was doing a just deed, and secondly in the thought that you would decide rightly; for I knew that you likewise, in dealing with the party of Archias and Hypates,[1] whom you found to have performed acts like those of Euphron, did not wait for a vote, but punished them as soon as you found yourselves able to do so, believing that those who are manifestly unrighteous and those who are plainly traitors and attempting to be tyrants are already condemned to death by all mankind. Was not Euphron also, I ask, guilty under all these heads? In the first place, he found the shrines full of offerings both of silver and of gold, and left them empty of all these treasures. Again, who could be more manifestly a traitor than Euphron, who was the closest of friends to the Lacedaemonians and then chose you in their stead, and after he had given you pledges and received pledges from you, betrayed you again and handed over the port to your adversaries? Once again, was he not beyond question

[1] See v. iv. 2-12.

λους μὲν οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας ἐποίει, ἀπεκτίννυε δὲ καὶ ἐφυγάδευε καὶ χρήματα ἀφῃρεῖτο οὐ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, ἀλλ' οὓς αὐτῷ
9 ἐδόκει; οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ βέλτιστοι. αὖθις δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐναντιωτάτων ὑμῖν Ἀθηναίων κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐναντία μὲν ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα τῷ παρ' ὑμῶν ἁρμοστῇ· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ἐδυνάσθη ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν, συσκευασάμενος χρήματα δεῦρο ἀφίκετο. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὅπλα ἡθροικὼς ἐφάνη ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ χάριν ἄν μοι εἴχετε, εἰ ἀπέκτεινα αὐτόν· ὃς δὲ χρήματα ἦλθε παρασκευασάμενος, ὡς τούτοις ὑμᾶς διαφθερῶν καὶ πείσων πάλιν κύριον αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τῆς πόλεως, τούτῳ ἐγὼ τὴν δίκην ἐπιθεὶς πῶς ἂν δικαίως ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀποθάνοιμι; καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὅπλοις βιασθέντες βλάπτονται μέν, οὐ μέντοι ἄδικοί γε ἀναφαίνονται· οἱ δὲ χρήμασι παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον διαφθαρέντες ἅμα μὲν βλάπτονται, ἅμα δὲ αἰσχύνῃ
10 περιπίπτουσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐμοὶ μὲν πολέμιος ἦν, ὑμῖν δὲ φίλος, κἀγὼ ὁμολογῶ μὴ καλῶς ἄν μοι ἔχειν παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦτον ἀποκτεῖναι· ὁ δὲ ὑμᾶς προδιδοὺς τί ἐμοὶ πολεμιώτερος ἦν ἢ ὑμῖν; Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία, εἴποι ἄν τις, ἑκὼν ἦλθε. κᾆτα εἰ μὲν ἀπεχόμενον τῆς ὑμετέρας[1] πόλεως ἀπέκτεινέ τις αὐτόν, ἐπαίνου ἂν ἐτύγχανε· νῦν δὲ ὅτε πάλιν ἦλθεν ἄλλα πρὸς τοῖς πρόσθεν κακὰ ποιήσων, οὐ

[1] ὑμετέρας CV: ἡμετέρας FMD, followed by Kel.

a tyrant, when he made slaves not only free men but even citizens, and put to death and banished and robbed of property, not the people who were guilty of wrong-doing, but those whom it suited him to treat thus? And these were the better classes. Then after he had returned again to the city in company with your bitter adversaries, the Athenians, he set himself in arms against your governor; but since he found himself unable to expel him from the Acropolis, he got together money and came hither. Now if he had been shown to have gathered armed forces with which to attack you, you would even feel grateful to me for slaying him; but when he provided himself with money instead, and came with the purpose of corrupting you by means of this money and persuading you to make him lord of the city again, how can I justly be put to death by you for inflicting upon the man his due punishment? For whereas those who are constrained by arms suffer damage, yet they are not thereby shown to be wicked at any rate; but those who are corrupted by money in violation of the right not only suffer damage, but at the same time incur shame. To be sure, if he had been an enemy of mine but a friend of yours, I admit myself that it would not have been seemly for me to slay this man in your city; but wherein was he, who was a traitor to you, more of an enemy to me than to you? 'But, by Zeus,' someone might say, 'he came of his own free will.' So, then, if anyone had slain him while he was keeping away from your city, he would have obtained praise; but as it is, when he came again to do you more wrong in addition to what he had done before, does one say that he has not been slain 366 B.C.

δικαίως φησί τις αὐτὸν τεθνάναι; ποῦ ἔχων Ἕλλησι σπονδὰς ἀποδεῖξαι ἢ προδόταις ἢ παλιν-
11 αυτομόλοις ἢ τυράννοις;[1] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀναμνήσθητε ὅτι καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε δήπου τοὺς φυγάδας ἀγωγίμους εἶναι ἐκ πασῶν τῶν συμμαχίδων. ὅστις δὲ ἄνευ κοινοῦ τῶν συμμάχων δόγματος κατέρχεται φυγάς, τοῦτον ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅπως οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀποθνήσκειν; ἐγώ φημι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀποκτείναντας μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ τετιμωρηκότας ἔσεσθαι ἀνδρὶ τῷ πάντων ὑμῖν πολεμιωτάτῳ, γνόντας δὲ δίκαια πεποιηκέναι αὐτοὺς τετιμωρηκότας φανεῖσθαι ὑπέρ τε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν συμμάχων ἁπάντων.

12 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἔγνωσαν δίκαια τὸν Εὔφρονα πεπονθέναι· οἱ μέντοι πολῖται αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν κομισάμενοι ἔθαψάν τε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ὡς ἀρχηγέτην τῆς πόλεως σέβονται. οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἱ πλεῖστοι ὁρίζονται τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι.[2]

IV. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Εὔφρονος εἴρηται· ἐγὼ δὲ ἔνθεν εἰς ταῦτα ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι. ἔτι γὰρ τειχιζόντων τῶν Φλειασίων τὴν Θυαμίαν καὶ τοῦ Χάρητος ἔτι παρόντος Ὠρωπὸς ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων κατελήφθη.[3] στρατευσαμένων δὲ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Χάρητα μεταπεμψαμένων ἐκ τῆς Θυαμίας, ὁ μὲν λιμὴν αὖ ὁ τῶν Σικυωνίων πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ

[1] ποῦ . . . τυράννοις as in the MSS.: Kel. inserts the clause after ἦλθε above.
[2] οὕτως . . . εἶναι MSS. : Kel. brackets, following Nauck.
[3] κατελήφθη : Kel. marks a lacuna after this word.

justly? Where can such a one show that a truce exists between Greeks and traitors, or double-deserters, or tyrants? Besides all this, remember also that you voted, and properly, that exiles should be subject to extradition from all the cities of the alliance. But as for an exile who returns without a general resolution of the allies, can anyone explain why it is unjust for such a one to be put to death? I maintain, gentlemen, that if you put me to death, you will have avenged a man who was the worst of all your enemies, but if you decide that I have done what was right, you will be found to have taken vengeance both for your own selves and for all the allies." 366 B.C.

The Thebans, after hearing these words, decided that Euphron had met his deserts; his own citizens, however, esteeming him a good man, brought him home, buried him in their market-place, and pay him pious honours as the founder of their city. So true it is, as it seems, that most people define as good men their own benefactors.

IV. The story of Euphron has been told, and I return to the point[1] from which I digressed to this subject. While, namely, the Phliasians were still fortifying Thyamia and Chares was still with them, Oropus was seized by those who had been exiled therefrom. When, however, the Athenians had set out in full force against the city and had summoned Chares from Thyamia, the port of the Sicyonians in its turn was recaptured by the citizens of Sicyon

[1] ii. 23.

τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἁλίσκεται· τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις οὐδεὶς τῶν συμμάχων ἐβοήθησεν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρησαν Θηβαίοις παρακαταθέμενοι τὸν Ὠρωπὸν μέχρι δίκης.

2 Καταμαθὼν δὲ ὁ Λυκομήδης μεμφομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς συμμάχοις, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν πολλὰ πράγματα εἶχον δι' ἐκείνους, ἀντεβοήθησε δ' αὐτοῖς οὐδείς, πείθει τοὺς μυρίους πράττειν περὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς αὐτούς. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι ἐδυσχέραινόν τινες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὄντας φίλους γενέσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν συμμάχους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ λογιζόμενοι ηὕρισκον οὐδὲν μεῖον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν τὸ Ἀρκάδας μὴ προσδεῖσθαι Θηβαίων, οὕτω δὴ

3 προσεδέχοντο τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμμαχίαν. καὶ Λυκομήδης ταῦτα πράττων, ἀπιὼν Ἀθήνηθεν δαιμονιώτατα ἀποθνῄσκει. ὄντων γὰρ παμπόλλων πλοίων, ἐκλεξάμενος τούτων ὃ ἐβούλετο, καὶ συνθέμενος τοῖς ναύταις ἀποβιβάσαι ὅποι αὐτὸς κελεύοι, εἵλετο ἐνταῦθα ἐκβῆναι ἔνθα οἱ φυγάδες ἐτύγχανον ὄντες. κἀκεῖνος μὲν οὕτως ἀποθνῄσκει, ἡ μέντοι συμμαχία ὄντως ἐπεραίνετο.

4 Εἰπόντος δὲ Δημοτίωνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἡ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας φιλία καλῶς αὐτῷ δοκοίη πράττεσθαι, τοῖς μέντοι στρατηγοῖς προστάξαι ἔφη χρῆναι ὅπως καὶ Κόρινθος σῶα ᾖ

themselves and the Arcadians; as for the Athenians, none of their allies came to their assistance, and they retired and left Oropus in the possession of the Thebans pending a judicial decision. 366 B.C.

And now Lycomedes, upon learning that the Athenians were finding fault with their allies because, while they were themselves suffering many troubles on their account, none gave them any assistance in return, persuaded the Ten Thousand[1] to negotiate for an alliance with the Athenians. At first, indeed, some of the Athenians took it ill that, when they were friends of the Lacedaemonians, they should become allies of their adversaries; but when upon consideration they found that it was no less advantageous to the Lacedaemonians than to themselves that the Arcadians should not require the support of the Thebans, under these circumstances they accepted the alliance with the Arcadians. While Lycomedes was engaged in these negotiations, upon his departure from Athens he met his death by what was quite manifestly a divine interposition. For there were very many ships available and he selected from them the one he wanted and made an agreement with the sailors to land him wherever he should himself direct; and he chose to land at the very spot where the Arcadian exiles chanced to be. He, then, met his death in this way, but the alliance was really accomplished.

Meantime Demotion said in the Assembly of the Athenians that while it seemed to him a good thing to be negotiating this friendship with the Arcadians, they ought, he said, to give instructions to their generals to see to it that Corinth also should be kept

[1] *cp.* i. 38.

τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ
Κορίνθιοι, ταχὺ πέμψαντες ἱκανοὺς φρουροὺς
ἑαυτῶν πάντοσε ὅπου Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφρούρουν εἶπαν
αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι δεόμενοι φρουρῶν.
οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο. ὡς δὲ συνῆλθον οἱ ἐκ τῶν φρου-
ρίων Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐκήρυξαν οἱ Κορίν-
θιοι, εἴ τις ἀδικοῖτο Ἀθηναίων, ἀπογράφεσθαι,
5 ὡς ληψομένους τὰ δίκαια. οὕτω δὲ τούτων ἐχόν-
των Χάρης ἀφικνεῖται μετὰ ναυτικοῦ πρὸς Κεγ-
χρειάς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγνω τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἔλεξεν ὅτι
ἀκούσας ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι τῇ πόλει βοηθῶν παρείη.
οἱ δ' ἐπαινέσαντες αὐτὸν οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐδέχοντο
τὰς ναῦς εἰς τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεῖν ἐκέλευον·
καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας δὲ τὰ δίκαια ποιήσαντες ἀπέ-
πεμψαν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῆς Κορίνθου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
6 οὕτως ἀπηλλάγησαν. τοῖς μέντοι Ἀρκάσι πέμ-
πειν ἠναγκάζοντο τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπικούρους διὰ τὴν
συμμαχίαν, εἴ τις στρατεύοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν·
τῆς δὲ Λακωνικῆς οὐκ ἐπέβαινον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ.

Τοῖς δὲ Κορινθίοις ἐνθυμουμένοις ὡς χαλεπῶς ἔχοι αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι, κρατουμένους μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν κατὰ γῆν, προσγεγενημένων δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων ἀνεπιτηδείων, ἔδοξεν ἀθροίζειν καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας μισθοφόρους. ἡγούμενοι δὲ τούτων, ἅμα μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλαττον, ἅμα δὲ πολλὰ τοὺς πλησίον πολεμίους κακῶς ἐποίουν· εἰς μέντοι

safe for the Athenian people; and on hearing of this the Corinthians speedily sent adequate garrisons of their own to every place where Athenians were on guard and told the latter to depart, saying that they no longer had any need of garrisons. The men accordingly obeyed. And as soon as the Athenians had come together from their guard-stations to the city of Corinth, the Corinthians made proclamation that if any of the Athenians had been wronged, they were to register their names, in the assurance that they would receive their just dues. While these matters were in this state, Chares arrived at Cenchreae with a fleet. And when he learned what had been done, he said that he had heard there was plotting against the state and had come to give aid. The Corinthians, however, while they thanked him, were none the more disposed to admit his ships into their harbour, but bade him sail away; and they likewise sent away the hoplites after rendering them their just dues. It was in this way, then, that the Athenians departed from Corinth. On the other hand, they were bound by the terms of their alliance to send their cavalry to the aid of the Arcadians in case anyone took the field against Arcadia; but they did not set foot upon Laconia for the purpose of war. 366 B.C.

And now the Corinthians, in the thought that it would be difficult for them to come off safe, since even before this time they had been overmastered by land and now the Athenians had been added to the number of those who were unfriendly to them, resolved to collect mercenaries, both infantry and cavalry. Once in command of these troops, they not only guarded their city but likewise inflicted much harm upon their enemies near home; but to

Θήβας ἔπεμψαν ἐπερησομένους εἰ τύχοιεν ἂν
7 ἐλθόντες εἰρήνης. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἰέναι ἐκέλευον, ὡς ἐσομένης, ἐδεήθησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐᾶσαι σφᾶς ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ὡς μετὰ μὲν τῶν βουλομένων ποιησόμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην, τοὺς δὲ πόλεμον αἱρουμένους ἐάσοντες πολεμεῖν. ἐφέντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πράττειν τῶν Θηβαίων, ἐλθόντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον·
8 Ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς πάρεσμεν ὑμέτεροι φίλοι, καὶ ἀξιοῦμεν, εἰ μέν τινα ὁρᾶτε σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν, ἐὰν διακαρτερῶμεν πολεμοῦντες, διδάξαι καὶ ἡμᾶς· εἰ δὲ ἀπόρως γιγνώσκετε ἔχοντα τὰ ἡμέτερα, εἰ μὲν καὶ ὑμῖν συμφέρει, ποιήσασθαι μεθ' ἡμῶν τὴν εἰρήνην· ὡς οὐδὲ μετ' οὐδένων ἂν ἥδιον ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν σωθείημεν· εἰ μέντοι ὑμεῖς λογίζεσθε συμφέρειν ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, δεόμεθα ὑμῶν ἐᾶσαι ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι. σωθέντες μὲν γὰρ ἴσως ἂν αὖθις ἔτι ποτὲ ἐν καιρῷ ὑμῖν γενοίμεθα· ἐὰν δὲ νῦν ἀπολώμεθα, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδέποτε χρήσιμοι ἔτι ἐσόμεθα.

9 Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς τε Κορινθίοις συνεβούλευον τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐπέτρεψαν τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις σὺν ἑαυτοῖς πολεμεῖν ἀναπαύεσθαι· αὐτοὶ δ' ἔφασαν πολεμοῦντες πράξειν ὅ τι ἂν τῷ θεῷ φίλον ᾖ· ὑφήσεσθαι δὲ οὐδέποτε, ἣν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρέλαβον
10 Μεσσήνην, ταύτης στερηθῆναι. οἱ οὖν Κορίνθιοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο εἰς τὰς Θήβας

Thebes they sent messengers to ask whether they could obtain peace if they came for it. And when the Thebans bade them come, saying that peace would be granted, the Corinthians requested that they should allow them to go to their allies also, to the end that they might conclude the peace in company with those who desired peace, and leave those who preferred war to continue war. The Thebans having permitted them to do this likewise, the Corinthians went to Lacedaemon and said: "Men of Lacedaemon, we have come to you as your friends, and we ask that in case you see any safety for us if we persist in the war, you make it known to us; but in case you judge our situation to be hopeless, that you join with us in concluding peace if it is to your advantage also; for there is no one in the world along with whom we should more gladly gain safety than with you; if, however, you consider that it is to your advantage to continue the war, we beg you to allow us to conclude peace. For if we are saved, we might perhaps make ourselves useful to you again at some future time; whereas if we are now destroyed, it is plain that we shall never be of service in the future." 366 B.C.

Upon hearing these words the Lacedaemonians not only advised the Corinthians to conclude the peace, but gave permission to such of their other allies as preferred not to continue the war in company with them, to cease; as for themselves, however, they said that they would fight on and accept whatever fortune it pleased the deity to send, and that they would never submit to be deprived of what they had received from their fathers—Messene. So the Corinthians, upon hearing these words, proceeded to

ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι ἠξίουν αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν ὀμνύναι· οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἡ μὲν συμμαχία οὐκ εἰρήνη, ἀλλὰ πολέμου μεταλλαγὴ εἴη· εἰ δὲ βούλοιντο, παρεῖναι ἔφασαν τὴν δικαίαν εἰρήνην ποιησόμενοι. ἀγασθέντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὅτι καίπερ ἐν κινδύνῳ ὄντες οὐκ ἤθελον τοῖς εὐεργέταις εἰς πόλεμον καθίστασθαι, συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς καὶ Φλειασίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς Θήβας τὴν εἰρήνην ἐφ' ᾧτε ἔχειν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστους. καὶ ἐπὶ
11 τούτοις ὠμόσθησαν οἱ ὅρκοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ Φλειάσιοι, ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἡ ξύμβασις ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Θυαμίας· οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ὀμόσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι,[1] ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο καταπρᾶξαι ὥστε τοὺς τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδας μένειν ἐν τῷ Τρικαράνῳ ὡς ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν πόλει ἔχοντας, παραλαβόντες ἐφρούρουν, φάσκοντες σφετέραν τὴν γῆν ταύτην εἶναι, ἣν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ὡς πολεμίαν οὖσαν ἐδῄουν· καὶ δίκας τῶν Φλειασίων προκαλουμένων οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν.

12 Σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τετελευτηκότος ἤδη τοῦ πρόσθεν Διονυσίου ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ πέμπει βοήθειαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις δώδεκα τριήρεις καὶ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Τιμοκράτην. οὗτος δ' οὖν ἀφικόμενος συνεξαιρεῖ αὐτοῖς Σελλασίαν· καὶ τοῦτο πράξας ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καταλαμβάνουσιν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι Λασιῶνα, τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἑαυτῶν ὄντα, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι συντελοῦντα εἰς
13 τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν. οἱ μέντοι Ἀρκάδες οὐ παρωλιγώ-

[1] ποιήσασθαι MSS.: ποιήσεσθαι Kel.

Thebes to make the peace. The Thebans, however, 366 B.C.
wanted them to bind themselves to an alliance as well; but they replied that an alliance was not peace but an exchange of war, and they said that they had come to conclude a real peace, if the Thebans so pleased. And the Thebans, seized with admiration for them because, even though they were in peril, they refused to be involved in war with their benefactors, granted peace to them, to the Phliasians, and to those who had come with them to Thebes, with the condition that each party should keep its own territory. And on these terms the oaths were taken. Then the Phliasians, inasmuch as the compact had been concluded on this basis, at once withdrew from Thyamia; but the Argives, who had sworn to make peace on these same terms, when they found themselves unable to bring it about that the Phliasian exiles should remain at Tricaranum on the ground that they would be within their own state, took over the place and kept it garrisoned, claiming now that this territory, which a little while before they had been laying waste as though it were an enemy's, was theirs; and although the Phliasians proposed a judicial decision, they refused to grant the request.

At about this time, the first Dionysius being now dead, his son sent to the aid of the Lacedaemonians twelve triremes and Timocrates as their commander. And upon his arrival he helped them to capture Sellasia; and after accomplishing this deed he sailed back home.

Not long after this the Eleans seized Lasion, 365 B.C.
which in ancient times had been theirs, but at present belonged to the Arcadian League. The Arcadians, however, did not let the matter pass, but at once

ρησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς παραγγείλαντες ἐβοήθουν. ἀντεβοήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἠλείων οἱ τριακόσιοι, καὶ ἔτι τετρακόσιοι. ἀντεστρατοπεδευμένων δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἐπιπεδεστέρῳ χωρίῳ τῶν Ἠλείων τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἠλείων ὄρους κορυφήν· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἠλείους. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἅμα μὲν ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου προσιόντας, ἅμα δὲ πολλαπλασίους, ἐκ πολλοῦ μὲν ἀπελθεῖν ᾐσχύνθησαν, ὁμόσε δ' ἦλθον καὶ εἰς χεῖρας δεξάμενοι ἔφυγον· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας, πολλὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἀπώλεσαν, κατὰ δυσχωρίας ἀποχωροῦντες.

14 Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀκρωρείων πόλεις. λαβόντες δὲ ταύτας πλὴν Θραύστου ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, καὶ περισταυρώσαντες τὸ Κρόνιον ἐνταῦθα ἐφρούρουν καὶ ἐκράτουν τοῦ Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ὄρους· ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ Μαργανέας ἐνδόντων τινῶν. οὕτω δὲ προκεχωρηκότων οἱ μὲν Ἠλεῖοι αὖ παντάπασιν ἠθύμησαν, οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἦλθον· ἐκεῖ μέντοι ὑποστάντες οἵ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλουσί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τινας καὶ
15 τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον
διαφορὰ ἐν τῇ Ἤλιδι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Χάροπόν

called out their troops and went to the rescue. And on the side of the Eleans the Three Hundred and likewise the Four Hundred[1] came out to meet them. Now after the Eleans had lain encamped on a somewhat level spot opposite the enemy throughout the day, the Arcadians climbed up by night to the summit of the mountain which was above the Eleans; and at daybreak they proceeded to descend upon the Eleans. Then the latter, seeing that the Arcadians were not only approaching from higher ground but were also many times their number, were yet ashamed to retreat while still at a distance, but advanced to meet the enemy, and took to flight only after letting them come to close quarters; and they lost many men and many arms, since they retreated over difficult ground. 365 B.C.

When the Arcadians had accomplished these things, they proceeded against the cities of the Acrorians. And having captured them, with the exception of Thraustus, they arrived at Olympia, and after building a stockade around the hill of Cronus, kept guard there and were masters of the Olympian mountain; they likewise gained possession of Margana, which was betrayed to them by some of its citizens. When matters had progressed to this point, the Eleans fell back into complete despondency, while the Arcadians proceeded against their capital. And they advanced as far as the marketplace; there, however, the horsemen and the rest of the Eleans made a stand, and they drove the Arcadians out, killed some of them, and set up a trophy. Now there had been dissension in Elis even before this time. For the party of Charopus, Thrasonidas,

[1] Apparently two bodies of picked troops.

τε καὶ Θρασωνίδαν καὶ Ἀργεῖον εἰς δημοκρατίαν ἦγον τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Εὐάλκαν τε καὶ Ἱππίαν καὶ Στρατόλαν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ Ἀρκάδες μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχοντες σύμμαχοι ἐδόκουν εἶναι τοῖς δημοκρατεῖσθαι βουλομένοις, ἐκ τούτου δὴ θρασύτεροι οἱ περὶ τὸν Χάροπον ἦσαν, καὶ συνθέμενοι τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν ἐπιβοηθεῖν καταλαμ-
16 βάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν ἄνω, καὶ ἐκκρούουσιν αὐτούς· ὥστ' ἔφυγον σὺν τῷ Ἀργείῳ καὶ Χαρόπῳ τῶν πολιτῶν περὶ τετρακοσίους.

Οὐ πολὺ δ' ὕστερον οὗτοι παραλαβόντες τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινὰς καταλαμβάνουσι Πύλον. καὶ πολλοὶ μέντοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆσαν τοῦ δήμου, ἅτε χωρίον τε καλὸν καὶ μεγάλην ῥώμην τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων σύμμαχον ἔχοντας. ἐνέβαλον δὲ καὶ ὕστερον εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν τῶν Ἠλείων οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων
17 ἀναπειθόμενοι ὡς ἡ πόλις προσχωρήσοιτο. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ φίλοι γεγενημένοι τοῖς Ἠλείοις τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν διεφύλαξαν· ὥστε οἱ Ἀρκάδες οὐδὲν ἄλλο πράξαντες ἢ δῃώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπῆλθον. εὐθὺς μέντοι ἐκ τῆς Ἠλείας ἐξιόντες, αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Πελληνέας ἐν Ἤλιδι ὄντας, νυκτὸς μακροτάτην ὁδὸν ἐλθόντες καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν Ὄλουρον· ἤδη γὰρ πάλιν προσεκεχωρήκεσαν οἱ Πελληνεῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν
18 Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ᾔσθοντο τὰ

and Argeius were trying to convert the state into a democracy, and the party of Eualcas, Hippias, and Stratolas into an oligarchy. But when the Arcadians with a large force seemed to be allies of those who wished to have a democracy, thereupon the party of Charopus were bolder, and after making arrangements with the Arcadians to aid them, seized the Acropolis. The horsemen, however, and the Three Hundred made no delay, but at once marched up and ejected them, so that about four hundred of the citizens, with Argeius and Charopus, were banished. 365 B.C.

Not long afterwards these exiles enlisted the aid of some of the Arcadians and seized Pylus. And many of the democrats withdrew from the capital and joined them, inasmuch as they were in possession of a good stronghold and had a large force—that of the Arcadians—to support them. Afterwards the Arcadians invaded the territory of the Eleans again, being persuaded by the exiles that the city would come over to them. But on that occasion the Achaeans, who had become friends of the Eleans, defended their city successfully, so that the Arcadians retired without accomplishing anything more than the laying waste of the land of the Eleans. At the moment, however, when they were departing from the Elean territory, they learned that the Pelleneans were in Elis, and after making an exceedingly long march by night seized their town of Olurus; for by this time the Pelleneans had come back again to their alliance with the Lacedaemonians.[1] Now when the Pelleneans learned the news in regard to

[1] See ii. 11 and note on ii. 18.

περὶ Ὀλούρου, περιελθόντες αὖ καὶ οὗτοι ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο εἰς τὴν αὑτῶν πόλιν Πελλήνην εἰσῆλθον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐπολέμουν τοῖς ἐν Ὀλούρῳ Ἀρκάσι τε καὶ τῷ ἑαυτῶν παντὶ δήμῳ μάλα ὀλίγοι ὄντες· ὅμως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν ἐξεπολιόρκησαν τὸν Ὄλουρον.

19 Οἱ δ᾽ αὖ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν ποιοῦνται ἄλλην στρατείαν εἰς τὴν Ἦλιν. μεταξὺ δὲ Κυλλήνης καὶ τῆς πόλεως στρατοπεδευομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθενται οἱ Ἠλεῖοι, ὑποστάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. καὶ Ἀνδρόμαχος μὲν ὁ Ἠλεῖος ἵππαρχος, ὅσπερ αἴτιος ἐδόκει εἶναι τὴν μάχην συνάψαι, αὐτὸς αὑτὸν διέφθειρεν· οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρησαν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ παραγενόμενος καὶ Σωκλείδης ὁ Σπαρτιάτης· ἤδη γὰρ τότε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σύμμαχοι
20 τοῖς Ἠλείοις ἦσαν. πιεζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἠλεῖοι ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν, ἠξίουν καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πέμποντες πρέσβεις ἐπιστρατεύειν τοῖς Ἀρκάσι, νομίζοντες οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα ἀποκαμεῖν τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, εἰ ἀμφοτέρωθεν πολεμοῖντο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος στρατεύεται μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνει Κρῶμνον. καταλιπὼν δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ φρουρὰν τῶν δώδεκα λόχων
21 τρεῖς, οὕτως ἐπ᾽ οἴκου ἀνεχώρησεν. οἱ μέντοι Ἀρκάδες, ὥσπερ ἔτυχον ἐκ τῆς εἰς Ἦλιν στρατείας συνειλεγμένοι, βοηθήσαντες περιεσταύρωσαν τὸν Κρῶμνον διπλῷ σταυρώματι, καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ

Olurus, they in their turn made a roundabout march 365 B.C. and as best they could got into their own city, Pellene. And after this they carried on war not only with the Arcadians at Olurus, but also with the entire body of the democrats of their own state, although they were themselves very few in number; but nevertheless they did not cease until they had captured Olurus by siege.

The Arcadians on their side made yet another expedition into Elis. And while they were encamped between Cyllene and the capital, the Eleans made an attack upon them, but the Arcadians stood their ground and defeated them. Then Andromachus, the Elean commander of horse, the man who was thought to be responsible for having joined battle, killed himself; but the rest retired to the city. Among those who perished in this battle was also Socleides the Spartiate, who had meanwhile arrived; for by this time the Lacedaemonians were allies of the Eleans. And now the Eleans, being hard pressed in their own land, sent ambassadors and asked the Lacedaemonians also to take the field against the Arcadians, believing that the Arcadians would be most likely to give up the struggle in this event, that is, if they were beset by war from both sides. As a result of this request Archidamus took the field with the citizen troops and seized Cromnus. And after leaving in the town as a garrison three of the twelve battalions,[1] he then returned homewards. But the Arcadians, gathered together as they were in consequence of their expedition into Elis, came to the rescue and surrounded Cromnus with a double stockade, and, being thus

[1] The λόχος was half a μόρα (regiment).

ὄντες ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς ἐν τῷ Κρώμνῳ. χαλεπῶς δὲ ἡ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐκπέμπει στρατιάν. ἡγεῖτο δὲ καὶ τότε Ἀρχίδαμος. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐδῄου καὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ὅσα ἐδύνατο καὶ τῆς Σκιρίτιδος, καὶ πάντα ἐποίει ὅπως, εἰ δύναιτο, ἀπαγάγοι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐκινοῦντο, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα παρεώ-
22 ρων. κατιδὼν δέ τινα λόφον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, δι' οὗ τὸ ἔξω σταύρωμα περιεβέβληντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ἐνόμισεν ἑλεῖν ἂν τοῦτον, καὶ εἰ τούτου κρατήσειεν, οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι μένειν τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦτον πολιορκοῦντας. κύκλῳ δὲ περιάγοντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ὡς εἶδον οἱ προθέοντες τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου πελτασταὶ τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἔξω τοῦ σταυρώματος, ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοῖς, καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς συνεμβάλλειν ἐπειρῶντο. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐνέκλιναν, ἀλλὰ συντεταγμένοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. οἱ δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐνέβαλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐνέκλιναν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπῄσαν, ἤδη οὔσης πολλῆς κραυγῆς, ἐβοήθει δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, ἐκτραπόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κρῶμνον φέρουσαν ἁμαξιτόν,
23 εἰς δύο ἄγων, ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων. ὡς δ' ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Ἀρχιδάμῳ κατὰ κέρας, ἅτε καθ' ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι, οἱ δ' Ἀρκάδες ἀθρόοι συνασπιδοῦντες, ἐν τούτῳ οὐκέτι

in a safe position, besieged the people in Cromnus. Then the city of Lacedaemon, distressed at the besieging of its citizens, sent out an army. And on this occasion also Archidamus was in command. When he had come, he laid waste as much as he could both of Arcadia and of Sciritis, and did everything in order, if possible, to draw off the besiegers. The Arcadians, however, were not any more disposed to stir than before, but disregarded all these doings. Then Archidamus, espying a hill over which the Arcadians had carried their outer stockade, came to the conclusion that he could capture it, and that if he became master of this hill, the besiegers at its foot would not be able to hold their position. Now while he was leading the way to this place by a roundabout route, as soon as the peltasts who were running on ahead of Archidamus caught sight of the Epariti[1] outside the stockade, they attacked them, and the cavalry endeavoured to join in the attack. The enemy, however, did not give way, but forming themselves into a compact body, remained quiet. Then the Lacedaemonians attacked again. The enemy did not give way even then, but on the contrary proceeded to advance, and by this time there was a deal of shouting; Archidamus himself thereupon came to the rescue, turning off along the wagon road which runs to Cromnus and leading his men in double file, just as he chanced to have them formed. Now as soon as the two forces had come near to one another, the troops of Archidamus in column, since they were marching along a road, and the Arcadians massed together in close 365 B.C.

[1] The name given to the regular troops of the Arcadian League.

ἐδύναντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντέχειν τῷ τῶν Ἀρκάδων πλήθει, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ μὲν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτέτρωτο τὸν μηρὸν διαμπάξ, ταχὺ δὲ οἱ μαχόμενοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπέθνῃσκον, Πολυαινίδας τε καὶ Χίλων ὁ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου ἔχων, καὶ οἱ πάντες δὲ αὐτῶν τότε ἀπέθανον οὐκ ἔλαττον
24 τῶν τριάκοντα. ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀναχωροῦντες εἰς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἐξῆλθον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο. καὶ μὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ὥσπερ εἶχον, συντεταγμένοι ἕστασαν, καὶ πλήθει μὲν ἐλείποντο, εὐθυμότερον δὲ πολὺ εἶχον, ἐπεληλυθότες ἀποχωροῦσι καὶ ἄνδρας [1] ἀπεκτονότες. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλα ἀθύμως εἶχον, τετρωμένον μὲν ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ἀκηκοότες δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν τεθνηκότων, ἀνδρῶν
25 τε ἀγαθῶν καὶ σχεδὸν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων. ὡς δὲ πλησίον ὄντων ἀναβοήσας τις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἶπε· Τί δεῖ ἡμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ σπεισαμένους διαλυθῆναι; ἄσμενοι δὴ ἀμφότεροι ἀκούσαντες ἐσπείσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνελόμενοι ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δ᾽ Ἀρκάδες ἐπαναχωρήσαντες ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξαντο ἐπιέναι τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο.

26 Ὡς δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες περὶ τὸν Κρῶμνον ἦσαν, οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἠλεῖοι πρῶτον μὲν ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὴν Πύλον περιτυγχάνουσι τοῖς Πυλίοις ἀποκεκρουμένοις ἐκ τῶν Θαλαμῶν. καὶ προσελαύνοντες οἱ

[1] Kel., following Hartman, supposes that τοσούτους or τοιούτους has dropped out after ἄνδρας.

order, at this juncture the Lacedaemonians were no longer able to hold out against the superior weight of the Arcadians, but Archidamus speedily received a wound straight through his thigh and speedily those who fought in front of him kept falling, among them Polyaenidas and Chilon, who was married to the sister of Archidamus; and the whole number of them who fell at that time was not less than thirty. But when the Lacedaemonians as they retired along the road came out into open ground, they immediately formed themselves in line of battle against the enemy. The Arcadians on their side stood in close order, just as they were, and while inferior in numbers, they were in better spirits by far, since they had attacked a foe who retreated and had killed men. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, were exceedingly despondent, for they saw that Archidamus was wounded and they had heard the names of the dead, who were not only brave men but well nigh their most distinguished. But when, the Arcadians being now close at hand, one of the older men shouted out and said: "Why, sirs, should we fight, and not rather make a truce and become reconciled?" both sides heard him gladly and made a truce. Accordingly the Lacedaemonians took up their dead and departed, while the Arcadians returned to the place where they had originally begun to advance, and there set up a trophy. 365 B.C.

While the Arcadians were occupied about Cromnus, the Eleans in the capital proceeded in the first place against Pylus,[1] and fell in with the Pylians after the latter had been driven out of Thalamae. And when the horsemen of the Eleans, as they rode

[1] *cp.* § 16.

ἱππεῖς τῶν Ἠλείων ὡς εἶδον αὐτούς, οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐμβάλλουσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτιννύουσιν, οἱ δέ τινες αὐτῶν καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ γήλοφον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἦλθον οἱ πεζοί, ἐκκόπτουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἔλαβον ἐγγὺς διακοσίων. καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ξένοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν, ἀπέδοντο, ὅσοι δὲ φυγάδες, ἀπέσφαττον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τούς τε Πυλίους, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθει, σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ χωρίῳ αἱροῦσι, καὶ τοὺς Μαργανέας
27 ἀναλαμβάνουσι. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὕστερον αὖ ἐλθόντες νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Κρῶμνον ἐπικρατοῦσι τοῦ σταυρώματος τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων[1] εὐθὺς ἐξεκάλουν. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἐγγύτατά τε ἐτύγχανον ὄντες καὶ ὠξυλάβησαν, ἐξῆλθον· ὁπόσους δὲ ἔφθασαν πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμβοηθήσαντες, ἀπεκλείσθησαν ἔνδον καὶ ληφθέντες διενεμήθησαν. καὶ ἓν μὲν μέρος ἔλαβον Ἀργεῖοι, ἓν δὲ Θηβαῖοι, ἓν δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ἓν δὲ Μεσσήνιοι. οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες ληφθέντες Σπαρτιατῶν τε καὶ περιοίκων πλείους τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐγένοντο.

28 Ἐπεί γε μὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐσχόλασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κρώμνου, πάλιν δὴ περὶ τοὺς Ἠλείους εἶχον, καὶ τήν τε Ὀλυμπίαν ἐρρωμενέστερον ἐφρούρουν, καὶ ἐπιόντος Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ἔτους παρεσκευάζοντο ποιεῖν τὰ Ὀλύμπια σὺν Πισάταις τοῖς πρώτοις φάσκουσι προστῆναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅ τε μὴν ἧκεν ἐν ᾧ τὰ Ὀλύμπια γίγνεται αἵ τε ἡμέραι

[1] τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων MSS.: Kel. brackets, following Breitenbach.

along, caught sight of the Pylians, they did not 365 B.C. delay, but attacked at once, and they killed some of them, while others fled for refuge to a hill; but as soon as the infantry came up they dislodged those upon the hill also, and killed some of them on the spot and took captive others, nearly two hundred in number. Thereupon they sold all among the prisoners who were foreigners and put to the sword all who were Elean exiles. After this the Eleans not only captured the Pylians, along with their stronghold, inasmuch as no one came to their aid, but also recovered Margana. As for the Lacedaemonians, they afterwards went against Cromnus again by night, made themselves masters of the stockade which was opposite the Argives, and immediately proceeded to call forth the Lacedaemonians who were besieged there. Now all who chanced to be nearest at hand and seized the opportunity promptly, came forth; but such as were forestalled by a large body of the Arcadians which came to the rescue, were shut off inside the stockade, captured, and distributed. And the Argives received one portion, the Thebans one, the Arcadians one, and the Messenians one. And the whole number who were captured of the Spartiatae and the Perioeci came to more than one hundred.

When the Arcadians were no longer occupied with 364 B.C. Cromnus, they occupied themselves again with the Eleans, and they not only kept Olympia more strongly garrisoned, but also, since an Olympic year was coming on, prepared to celebrate the Olympic games in company with the Pisatans, who say that they were the first to have charge of the sanctuary. But when the month came in which the Olympic

ἐν αἷς ἡ πανήγυρις ἀθροίζεται, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ
Ἠλεῖοι ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ συσκευασάμενοι καὶ
παρακαλέσαντες Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπορεύοντο τὴν Ὀλυμ-
29 πιακὴν ὁδόν. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ
ἄν ποτε ᾤοντο ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, αὐτοὶ δὲ σὺν
Πισάταις διετίθεσαν τὴν πανήγυριν. καὶ τὴν
μὲν ἱπποδρομίαν ἤδη ἐπεποιήκεσαν καὶ τὰ δρο-
μικὰ τοῦ πεντάθλου. οἱ δ' εἰς πάλην ἀφικόμενοι
οὐκέτι ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ, ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ δρόμου καὶ
τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐπάλαιον. οἱ γὰρ Ἠλεῖοι σὺν τοῖς
ὅπλοις παρῆσαν ἤδη εἰς τὸ τέμενος. οἱ δὲ Ἀρ-
κάδες πορρωτέρω μὲν οὐκ ἀπήντησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ
τοῦ Κλαδάου ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο, ὃς παρὰ
τὴν Ἄλτιν καταρρέων εἰς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἐμβάλλει.
καὶ σύμμαχοι δὲ παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς, ὁπλῖται μὲν
Ἀργείων εἰς δισχιλίους, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἱππεῖς περὶ
30 τετρακοσίους. καὶ μὴν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι τἀπὶ θάτερα
τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο, σφαγιασάμενοι δὲ εὐ-
θὺς ἐχώρουν. καὶ τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον εἰς τὰ
πολεμικὰ καταφρονούμενοι μὲν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων καὶ
Ἀργείων, καταφρονούμενοι δὲ ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν καὶ
Ἀθηναίων, ὅμως ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν μὲν συμ-
μάχων ὡς ἀλκιμώτατοι ὄντες ἡγοῦντο, τοὺς δ'

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[1] The *pentathlum*, which immediately followed the horse-race, consisted—as its name implies—of five events, *viz.* running, jumping, discus-throwing, javelin-hurling, and wrestling. The order of these events is uncertain, except that the wrestling contest was the last, while the foot-race was in all probability the first. The first four events (τὰ

games take place and the days on which the festal assembly gathers, at this time the Eleans, after making their preparations openly and summoning the Achaeans to their aid, proceeded to march along the road leading to Olympia. Now the Arcadians had never imagined that the Eleans would come against them, and were themselves directing the festal meeting in company with the Pisatans. They had already finished the horse-race, and the events of the *pentathlum*[1] held in the race-course. And the competitors who had reached the wrestling[2] were no longer in the race-course, but were wrestling in the space between the race-course and the altar.[3] For the Eleans, under arms, had by this time reached the sacred precinct. Then the Arcadians, without advancing to meet them, formed in line of battle on the river Cladaüs, which flows past the Altis[4] and empties into the Alpheus. They had allies also to support them, about two thousand hoplites of the Argives and about four hundred horsemen of the Athenians. And the Eleans formed in line on the opposite side of the river, and, after offering sacrifice, immediately advanced. And although in former time they had been despised in matters of war by the Arcadians and Argives, and despised by the Achaeans and Athenians, nevertheless on that day they led their allies forward, as men who were unexcelled in valour, and they not only routed the Arcadians at 364 B.C.

δρομικά) were held in the δρόμος, or race-course, the wrestling usually in the open space in front of the treasury steps.

[2] *i.e.* had survived the first four events.

[3] The great altar of Zeus, whose sacredness was expected to protect them from any attack by the Eleans.

[4] The inner portion of the sacred precinct bore this name.

Ἀρκάδας, τούτοις γὰρ πρῶτον συνέβαλον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ ἐπιβοηθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς
31 Ἀργείους δεξάμενοι καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι κατεδίωξαν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα προσήκοντος θεάτρου, ἐμάχοντο μὲν οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ ἐώθουν πρὸς τὸν βωμόν, ἀπὸ μέντοι τῶν στοῶν τε καὶ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ βαλλόμενοι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ μαχόμενοι, ἀποθνῄσκουσιν ἄλλοι τε τῶν Ἠλείων καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν τριακοσίων ἄρχων Στρατόλας. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ αὑτῶν
32 στρατόπεδον. οἱ μέντοι Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν οὕτως ἐπεφόβηντο τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ὥστε οὐδ' ἀνεπαύσαντο τῆς νυκτός, ἐκκόπτοντες τὰ διαπεπονημένα σκηνώματα καὶ ἀποσταυροῦντες. οἱ δ' αὖ Ἠλεῖοι ἐπεὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσιόντες εἶδον καρτερὸν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ναῶν πολλοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας, ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, τοιοῦτοι γενόμενοι οἵους τὴν ἀρετὴν θεὸς μὲν ἂν ἐμπνεύσας δύναιτο καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀποδεῖξαι, ἄνθρωποι δὲ οὐδ' ἂν ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς μὴ ὄντας ἀλκίμους ποιήσειαν.

33 Χρωμένων δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τοὺς ἐπαρίτους τρεφόντων, πρῶτοι Μαντινεῖς ἀπεψηφίσαντο μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι. καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ

once—for it was these whom they encountered 364 B.C.
first—but withstood the attack of the Argives when they came to the rescue, and won the victory over them also. When, however, they had pursued the enemy to the space between the senate house and the temple of Hestia and the theatre which adjoins these buildings, although they fought no less stoutly and kept pushing the enemy towards the altar, still, since they were pelted from the roofs of the porticoes, the senate house, and the great temple,[1] and were themselves fighting on the ground-level, some of the Eleans were killed, among them Stratolas himself, the leader of the Three Hundred. When this happened, they retired to their own camp. But the Arcadians and those with them were so fearful for the coming day that they did not so much as go to rest during the night, being engaged in cutting down the carefully constructed booths[2] and building a stockade. As for the Eleans, when they returned on the next day and saw that the stockade was a strong one and that many men had climbed up on the temples, they withdrew to their city, having shown themselves such men in point of valour as a god no doubt could produce by his inspiration even in a day, but human creatures could not make even in a long time out of those who were not valiant.

Now while the leaders of the Arcadians were 363 B.C.
using the sacred treasures,[3] and therefrom maintaining the Epariti, the Mantineans were the first to pass a vote not to make use of the sacred treasures. For themselves, they collected in their city the

[1] Of Zeus.

[2] Built by merchants or for the shelter and convenience of visitors. [3] *i.e.* of Olympia.

γιγνόμενον μέρος εἰς τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπορίσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς λυμαίνεσθαι τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, ἀνεκαλοῦντο εἰς τοὺς μυρίους τοὺς προστάτας αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουον, κατεδίκασαν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἔπεμπον ὡς ἄξοντας τοὺς κατακεκριμένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μαντινεῖς κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτοὺς
34 εἴσω. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τάχα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις ὡς οὐ χρὴ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι χρῆσθαι οὐδὲ καταλιπεῖν εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τοῖς παισὶν ἔγκλημα τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς θεούς. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἀπέδοξε μηκέτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι, ταχὺ δὴ οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενοι ἄνευ μισθοῦ τῶν ἐπαρίτων εἶναι διεχέοντο, οἱ δὲ δυνάμενοι παρακελευσάμενοι αὐτοῖς καθίσταντο εἰς τοὺς ἐπαρίτους, ὅπως μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπὶ σφίσιν εἶεν. γνόντες δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ διακεχειρικότες τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα ὅτι εἰ δώσοιεν εὐθύνας, κινδυνεύσοιεν ἀπολέσθαι, πέμπουσιν εἰς Θήβας, καὶ διδάσκουσι τοὺς Θηβαίους ὡς εἰ μὴ στρατεύσειαν, κινδυνεύσοιεν
35 οἱ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν λακωνίσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς στρατευσόμενοι· οἱ δὲ τὰ κράτιστα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ βουλευόμενοι ἔπεισαν τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων πέμψαντας πρέσβεις εἰπεῖν τοῖς Θηβαίοις μὴ ἰέναι σὺν ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, εἰ μή τι καλοῖεν. καὶ ἅμα μὲν ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς

amount which fell to their share towards the payment of the Epariti and sent it off to the leaders. 363 B.C. The leaders, however, said that they were doing harm to the Arcadian League, and summoned their rulers before the Ten Thousand; and when they refused to heed the summons, they passed sentence upon them and sent the Epariti to bring those who had been thus condemned. Then the Mantineans shut their gates and would not admit the Epariti within their walls. As a result of this some others likewise were soon saying in the meeting of the Ten Thousand that they ought not to use the sacred treasures, or to leave to their children for all time such an offence in the eyes of the gods. When, accordingly, a vote had been passed in the Arcadian assembly not to make use of the sacred treasures any longer, those who could not belong to the Epariti without pay speedily began to melt away, while those who could, spurred on one another and began to enroll themselves in the Epariti, in order that they might not be in the power of that body, but rather that it might be in their power. Then such of the Arcadian leaders as had handled the sacred treasures, realizing that, if they had to render an account, they would be in danger of being put to death, sent to Thebes and explained to the Thebans that if they did not take the field, the Arcadians would be likely to go over to the Lacedaemonians again. The Thebans accordingly prepared to take the field; but those who sought the best interests of Peloponnesus persuaded the general assembly of the Arcadians to send ambassadors and tell the Thebans not to come under arms to Arcadia unless they sent them a summons. And while they

Θηβαίους ἔλεγον, ἅμα δὲ ἐλογίζοντο ὅτι πολέμου οὐδὲν δέοιντο. τοῦ τε γὰρ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς προεστάναι οὐδὲν προσδεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλ' ἀποδιδόντες ἂν καὶ δικαιότερα καὶ ὁσιώτερα ποιεῖν, καὶ τῷ θεῷ οἴεσθαι μᾶλλον ἂν οὕτω χαρίζεσθαι. βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Ἠλείων, ἔδοξεν ἀμφοτέροις εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι· καὶ ἐγένοντο σπονδαί.

36 Γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὅρκων, καὶ ὀμοσάντων τῶν τε ἄλλων ἁπάντων καὶ Τεγεατῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου, ὃς ἐτύγχανεν ἐν Τεγέᾳ ἔχων τριακοσίους ὁπλίτας τῶν Βοιωτῶν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδες ἐν τῇ Τεγέᾳ[1] αὐτοῦ ἐπικαταμείναντες ἐδειπνοποιοῦντό τε καὶ ηὐθυμοῦντο καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ παιᾶνας ὡς εἰρήνης γεγενημένης ἐποιοῦντο, ὁ δὲ Θηβαῖος καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ φοβούμενοι τὰς εὐθύνας σύν τε τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁμογνώμοσι τῶν ἐπαρίτων κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας τοῦ τῶν Τεγεατῶν τείχους, πέμποντες ἐπὶ τοὺς σκηνοῦντας συνελάμβανον τοὺς βελτίστους. ἅτε δὲ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων παρόντων τῶν Ἀρκάδων, καὶ πάντων εἰρήνην βουλομένων ἔχειν, πολλοὺς ἔδει τοὺς συλλαμβανομένους εἶναι· ὥστε ταχὺ μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸ δεσμωτήριον μεστὸν ἦν, ταχὺ δὲ ἡ
37 δημοσία οἰκία. ὡς δὲ πολλοὶ οἱ εἱργμένοι ἦσαν, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐκπεπηδηκότες, ἦσαν δ' οἳ καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἀφεῖντο· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδενὶ ὠργίζετο, ὅστις μὴ ᾤετο ἀπολεῖσθαι· ἀπορῆσαι δὴ μάλιστα ἐποίησε τόν τε Θηβαῖον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πράττοντας ὅτι Μαν-

[1] ἐν τῇ Τεγέᾳ MSS.: Kel. brackets, following Cobet.

said this to the Thebans, at the same time they reasoned that they had no desire for war. For they held that they had no desire for the presidency of the shrine of Zeus, but that they would be acting more justly as well as more righteously if they gave it back, and that in this way, as they supposed, they would please the god better. Now since the Eleans also were desirous of this course, both parties resolved to make peace; and a truce was concluded. 363 B.C.

After the oaths had been taken and, besides all the rest, the Tegeans had sworn and the Theban governor himself, who chanced to be in Tegea with three hundred hoplites of the Boeotians, then, while the bulk of the Arcadians, still remaining there in Tegea, feasted and made merry, poured libations and sang paeans over the conclusion of peace, the Theban and such of the Arcadian leaders as were fearful about their accounts, after closing the gates in the wall of Tegea with the help of the Boeotians and their partisans among the Epariti, sent to the feasters and proceeded to seize the aristocrats. But inasmuch as the Arcadians of all the cities were present and all of them were desirous of having peace, those who were seized were necessarily many, so that their prison was speedily full, and the city hall likewise. Since, however, there were many who had been imprisoned, and many who had leaped down outside the wall, and some also who had been let out through the gates (for no one, unless he expected to be put to death,[1] felt resentment against anyone else), it was a cause of the greatest embarrassment to the Theban governor and those who were acting with him in this matter that of the Mantineans, whom

[1] *cp.* § 34.

τινέας, οὓς μάλιστα ἐβούλοντο λαβεῖν, ὀλίγους
τινὰς πάνυ εἶχον· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐγγὺς τὴν πόλιν
εἶναι σχεδὸν πάντες ᾤχοντο οἴκαδε.
38 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐπύ-
θοντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς, εὐθὺς πέμποντες εἴς τε τὰς
ἄλλας Ἀρκαδικὰς πόλεις προηγόρευον ἐν τοῖς
ὅπλοις εἶναι καὶ φυλάττειν τὰς παρόδους. καὶ
αὐτοὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐποίουν, καὶ ἅμα πέμψαντες εἰς τὴν
Τεγέαν ἀπῄτουν ὅσους ἔχοιεν ἄνδρας Μαντινέων·
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ Ἀρκάδων οὐδένα ἀξιοῦν ἔφασαν
οὔτε δεδέσθαι οὔτε ἀποθνήσκειν πρὸ δίκης. εἰ
δὲ καί τινες ἐπαιτιῷντο, ἔλεγον ἐπαγγέλλοντες
ὅτι ἡ τῶν Μαντινέων πόλις ἐγγυῷτο ἦ μὴν παρ-
έξειν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπόσους τις
39 προσκαλοῖτο. ἀκούων οὖν ὁ Θηβαῖος, ἠπόρει
τε ὅ τι χρήσαιτο τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀφίησι πάν-
τας τοὺς ἄνδρας. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ συγκαλέσας
τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπόσοι γε δὴ συνελθεῖν ἠθέλησαν,
ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς ἐξαπατηθείη. ἀκοῦσαι γὰρ ἔφη
ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε εἶεν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τοῖς
ὁρίοις προδιδόναι τε μέλλοιεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Τεγέαν
τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινές. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες, ἐκεῖνον
μέν, καίπερ γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι ἐψεύδετο περὶ
σφῶν, ἀφίεσαν· πέμψαντες δ' εἰς Θήβας πρέσβεις
40 κατηγόρουν αὐτοῦ ὡς δεῖν ἀποθανεῖν. τὸν δ'
Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἔφασαν, καὶ γὰρ στρατηγῶν τότε
ἐτύγχανε, λέγειν ὡς πολὺ ὀρθότερον ποιήσειεν,
ὅτε συνελάμβανε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ ὅτε ἀφῆκε. Τὸ

they most wanted to capture, they had but a very few; for because their city was near by, almost all of them had gone home. 363 B.C.

Now when day came and the Mantineans learned what had been done, they straightway sent to the other Arcadian cities and gave them word to hold themselves under arms and to guard the passes. The Mantineans likewise followed this course themselves, and at the same time, sending to Tegea, demanded back all the men of Mantinea whom they were holding there; and they said that they demanded in the case of the other Arcadians also that no one of them should be kept in prison or put to death without a trial. And if anyone had any charges to bring against these men, they gave assurances that the city of Mantinea pledged itself in very truth to produce before the general assembly of the Arcadians all whom anyone might summon to trial. The Theban accordingly, on hearing this, was at a loss to know how he should deal with the matter, and released all the men. Then on the following day he called together as many of the Arcadians as chose to gather and said in his defence that he had been deceived. For he had heard, he said, that the Lacedaemonians were on the borders under arms and that some of the Arcadians were going to betray Tegea to them. Upon hearing this they acquitted him, although they knew that he was speaking falsely about them, but they sent ambassadors to Thebes and brought charges against him, saying that he ought to be put to death. It was said, however, that Epaminondas (for he chanced to be general at that time) urged that he had acted far more rightly when he seized the men than when

γὰρ ἡμῶν δι' ὑμᾶς εἰς πόλεμον καταστάντων ὑμᾶς ἄνευ τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι πῶς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως προδοσίαν τις ὑμῶν τοῦτο κατηγοροίη; εὖ δ' ἴστε, ἔφη, ὅτι ἡμεῖς καὶ στρατευσόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ σὺν τοῖς τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσι πολεμήσομεν.

V. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀπηγγέλθη πρός τε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, ἐκ τούτου ἀνελογίζοντο Μαντινεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων οἱ κηδόμενοι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Ἀχαιοί, ὅτι Θηβαῖοι δῆλοι εἶεν βουλόμενοι ὡς ἀσθενεστάτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον εἶναι, ὅπως ὡς ῥᾷστα αὐτὴν καταδουλώσαιντο.
2 Τί γὰρ δὴ πολεμεῖν ἡμᾶς βούλονται ἢ ἵνα ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀλλήλους κακῶς ποιῶμεν, ἐκείνων δ' ἀμφότεροι δεώμεθα; ἢ τί λεγόντων ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐ δεόμεθα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι παρασκευάζονται ὡς ἐξιόντες; οὐ δῆλον ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ κακόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι
3 ἡμᾶς στρατεύειν παρασκευάζονται; ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ Ἀθήναζε βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες· ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρίτων, παρακαλοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους, εἰ βούλοιντο κοινῇ διακωλύειν, ἄν τινες ἴωσι καταδουλωσόμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον. περὶ μέντοι ἡγεμονίας αὐτόθεν διεπράττοντο ὅπως ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι ἡγήσοιντο.

4 Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐξῄει, Βοιωτοὺς ἔχων πάντας καὶ Εὐβοᾶς καὶ

he released them. "For," he said to the ambassadors, "it was on your account that we entered upon war, and you concluded peace without our approval; should we not, therefore, be justified in charging you with treason for this act? But be well assured," said he, "that we shall make an expedition to Arcadia and shall wage war in company with those who hold to our side." 363 B.C.

V. When these things were reported back to the general assembly of the Arcadians and to the several cities, the Mantineans and such of the other Arcadians as were concerned for Peloponnesus inferred therefrom, as did likewise the Eleans and the Achaeans, that the Thebans manifestly wanted Peloponnesus to be as weak as possible so that they might as easily as possible reduce it to slavery. "For why in the world," they said, "do they wish us to make war unless it is in order that we may do harm to one another and consequently may both feel the need of them? Or why, when we say that we do not at present need them, are they preparing to march forth? Is it not clear that it is for the purpose of working some harm upon us that they are preparing to take the field?" And they sent to Athens also, bidding the Athenians come to their aid, while ambassadors from the Epariti proceeded to Lacedaemon as well, to invite the help of the Lacedaemonians in case they wanted to join in checking any who might come to enslave Peloponnesus. As for the matter of the leadership, they arranged at once that each people should hold it while within its own territory. 362 B.C.

While these things were being done, Epaminondas was on his outward march at the head of all the

Θετταλῶν πολλοὺς παρά τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ
τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῷ. Φωκεῖς μέντοι οὐκ ἠκολού-
θουν, λέγοντες ὅτι συνθῆκαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς[1] εἶεν,
εἴ τις ἐπὶ Θήβας ἴοι, βοηθεῖν, ἐπ' ἄλλους δὲ
5 στρατεύειν οὐκ εἶναι ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις. ὁ μέντοι
Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐλογίζετο καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
σφίσιν ὑπάρχειν Ἀργείους τε καὶ Μεσσηνίους
καὶ Ἀρκάδων τοὺς τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντας. ἦσαν
δ' οὗτοι Τεγεᾶται καὶ Μεγαλοπολῖται καὶ Ἀσεᾶ-
ται καὶ Παλλαντιεῖς, καὶ εἴ τινες δὴ πόλεις διὰ
τὸ μικραί τε εἶναι καὶ ἐν μέσαις ταύταις οἰκεῖν
6 ἠναγκάζοντο. ἐξῆλθε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας
διὰ ταχέων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Νεμέᾳ, ἐνταῦθα
διέτριβεν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παριόντας
λήψεσθαι καὶ λογιζόμενος μέγα ἂν τοῦτο γενέσθαι
τοῖς μὲν σφετέροις συμμάχοις εἰς τὸ ἐπιρρῶσαι
αὐτούς, τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοις εἰς τὸ εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐμ-
πεσεῖν, ὡς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, πᾶν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι
7 Θηβαίοις ὅ τι ἐλαττοῖντο Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐν δὲ τῇ
διατριβῇ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συνῆσαν πάντες οἱ ὁμο-
φρονοῦντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ
Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἤκουσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ μὲν
κατὰ γῆν πορεύεσθαι ἀπεγνωκέναι, κατὰ θάλατ-
ταν δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς διὰ Λακεδαίμονος
βοηθήσοντας τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν, οὕτω δὴ ἀφορμήσας
8 ἐκ τῆς Νεμέας ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. εὐτυχῆ
μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε φήσαιμι τὴν στρατηγίαν
αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· ὅσα μέντοι προνοίας ἔργα καὶ

[1] αὐτοῖς MSS.: Kel. brackets.

Boeotians, the Euboeans, and many of the Thessalians, who came both from Alexander[1] and from his opponents. The Phocians, however, declined to join the expedition, saying that their agreement was to lend aid in case anyone went against Thebes, but that to take the field against others was not in the agreement. Epaminondas reflected, however, that his people had supporters in Peloponnesus also—the Argives, the Messenians, and such of the Arcadians as held to their side. These were the Tegeans, the Megalopolitans, the Aseans, the Pallantians, and whatever cities were constrained to adopt this course for the reason that they were small and surrounded by these others. Epaminondas accordingly pushed forth with speed; but when he arrived at Nemea he delayed there, hoping to catch the Athenians as they passed by, and estimating that this would be a great achievement, not only in the view of his people's allies, so as to encourage them, but also in that of their opponents, so that they would fall into despondency—in a word, that every loss the Athenians suffered was a gain for the Thebans. And during this delay on his part all those who held the same views[2] were gathering together at Mantinea. But when Epaminondas heard that the Athenians had given up the plan of proceeding by land and were preparing to go by sea, with the intention of marching through Lacedaemon to the aid of the Arcadians, under these circumstances he set forth from Nemea and arrived at Tegea. Now I for my part could not say that his campaign proved fortunate; yet of all possible deeds of forethought and 362 B.C.

[1] *cp.* VI. iv. 34 f.
[2] *i.e.* of hostility to Thebes.

τόλμης ἐστίν, οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ ἐλλιπεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐπαινῶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῷ τείχει τῶν Τεγεατῶν ἐποιήσατο, ἔνθ' ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ τε ἦν ἢ εἰ ἔξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν ἀδηλοτέρῳ ὅ τι πράττοιτο. καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι δέ, εἴ του ἐδεῖτο, ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντι εὐπορώτερον ἦν. τῶν δ' ἑτέρων ἔξω στρατοπεδευομένων ἐξῆν ὁρᾶν, εἴτε τι ὀρθῶς ἐπράττετο εἴτε τι ἡμάρτανον. καὶ μὴν οἰόμενος κρείττων τῶν ἀντιπάλων εἶναι, ὁπότε ὁρῴη χωρίοις πλεονεκτοῦντας αὐτούς, οὐκ ἐξήγετο
9 ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ὁρῶν δὲ οὔτε πόλιν αὐτῷ προσχωροῦσαν οὐδεμίαν τόν τε χρόνον προβαίνοντα, ἐνόμισε πρακτέον τι εἶναι. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν εὐκλείας πολλὴν ἀδοξίαν προσεδέχετο. ἐπεὶ οὖν κατεμάνθανε περὶ μὲν τὴν Μαντίνειαν τοὺς ἀντιπάλους πεφυλαγμένους, μεταπεμπομένους δὲ Ἀγησίλαόν τε καὶ πάντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ᾔσθετο ἐξεστρατευμένον τὸν Ἀγησίλαον καὶ ὄντα ἤδη ἐν τῇ Πελλήνῃ, δειπνοποιήσασθαι παραγγείλας ἡγεῖτο τῷ στρατεύματι εὐθὺς
10 ἐπὶ Σπάρτην. καὶ εἰ μὴ Κρὴς θείᾳ τινὶ μοίρᾳ προσελθὼν ἐξήγγειλε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ προσιὸν τὸ στράτευμα, ἔλαβεν ἂν τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ νεοττιὰν παντάπασιν ἔρημον τῶν ἀμυνομένων. ἐπεὶ μέντοι προπυθόμενος ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἔφθη εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπελθών, διαταξάμενοι οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται ἐφύλαττον, καὶ μάλα ὀλίγοι ὄντες. οἵ τε γὰρ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῖς πάντες ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἀπῆσαν καὶ

daring the man seems to me to have left not one undone. For, in the first place, I commend his pitching his camp within the wall of Tegea, where he was in greater safety than if he had been encamped outside, and where whatever was being done was more entirely concealed from the enemy. Furthermore, it was easier for him, being in the city, to provide himself with whatever he needed. Since the enemy, on the other hand, was encamped outside, it was possible to see whether they were doing things rightly or were making mistakes. Again, while he believed that he was stronger than his adversaries, he could never be induced to attack them when he saw that they held the advantage in position. However, when he perceived that no city was coming over to him and that time was passing on, he decided that some action must be taken; otherwise, in place of his former fame, he must expect deep disgrace. When he became aware, therefore, that his adversaries had taken up a strong position in the neighbourhood of Mantinea and were sending after Agesilaus and all the Lacedaemonians, and learned, further, that Agesilaus had marched forth and was already at Pellene, he gave orders to his men to get their dinner and led his army straight upon Sparta. And had not a Cretan by a kind of providential chance come and reported to Agesilaus that the army was advancing, he would have captured the city, like a nest entirely empty of its defenders. But when Agesilaus, having received word of this in time, had got back to the city ahead of the enemy, the Spartiatae posted themselves at various points and kept guard, although they were extremely few. For all their horsemen were away in Arcadia and likewise 362 B.C.

τὸ ξενικὸν καὶ τῶν λόχων δώδεκα ὄντων οἱ τρεῖς.

11 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἔμελλον ἔν τε ἰσοπέδῳ μαχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν βληθήσεσθαι, οὐκ εἰσῄει ταύτῃ, οὐδ' ὅπου γε μηδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες μαχεῖσθαι τῶν ὀλίγων πολλοὶ ὄντες. ἔνθεν δὲ πλεονεκτεῖν ἂν ἐνόμιζε, τοῦτο λαβὼν τὸ χωρίον κατέβαινε καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβαινεν[1] εἰς τὴν
12 πόλιν. τό γε μὴν ἐντεῦθεν γενόμενον ἔξεστι μὲν τὸ θεῖον αἰτιᾶσθαι, ἔξεστι δὲ λέγειν ὡς τοῖς ἀπονενοημένοις οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑποσταίη. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡγεῖτο Ἀρχίδαμος οὐδὲ ἑκατὸν ἔχων ἄνδρας, καὶ διαβὰς ὅπερ ἐδόκει τι ἔχειν κώλυμα ἐπορεύετο πρὸς ὄρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες, οἱ νενικηκότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τῷ παντὶ πλείους καὶ προσέτι ὑπερδέξια χωρία ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχί-
13 δαμον, ἀλλ' ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν Ἐπαμεινώνδου ἀποθνῄσκουσιν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ νίκῃ ἐδίωξαν οἱ ἔνδοθεν πορρωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ, οὗτοι αὖ ἀποθνῄσκουσι· περιεγέγραπτο γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου μέχρι ὅσου νίκη ἐδέδοτο αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος τροπαῖόν τε ἵστατο ἔνθα ἐπεκράτησε καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα πεσόντας τῶν πολεμίων ὑποσπόνδους

[1] καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβαινεν MSS.: Kel. brackets.

the mercenary force and three of the battalions,[1] which numbered twelve. 362 B.C.

Now when Epaminondas had arrived within the city[2] of the Spartiatae, he did not attempt to enter at the point where his troops would be likely to have to fight on the ground-level and be pelted from the house-tops, nor where they would fight with no advantage over the few, although they were many; but after gaining the precise position from which he believed that he would enjoy an advantage, he undertook to descend (instead of ascending) into the city. As for what happened thereupon, one may either hold the deity responsible, or one may say that nobody could withstand desperate men. For when Archidamus led the advance with not so much as a hundred men and, after crossing the very thing[3] which seemed to present an obstacle, marched uphill against the adversary, at that moment the fire-breathers, the men who had defeated the Lacedaemonians, the men who were altogether superior in numbers and were occupying higher ground besides, did not withstand the attack of the troops under Archidamus, but gave way. And those in the van of Epaminondas' army were slain, but when the troops from within the city, exulting in their victory, pursued farther than was fitting, they in their turn were slain; for, as it seems, the line had been drawn by the deity indicating how far victory had been granted them. Archidamus accordingly set up a trophy at the spot where he had won the victory, and gave back under a truce those of the enemy who had fallen

[1] *cp.* iv. 20.
[2] *i.e.* the outlying portion of the city. Sparta had no walls.
[3] Difficult ground, apparently.

14 ἀπεδίδου. ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας λογιζόμενος ὅτι βοηθήσοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο καὶ πᾶσι Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁμοῦ γενομένοις μάχεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ηὐτυχηκόσι, τῶν δὲ ἀποτετυχηκότων· πάλιν δὲ πορευθεὶς ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν τοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας ἀνέπαυσε, τοὺς δ' ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, δεηθεὶς αὐτῶν προσκαρτερῆσαι, καὶ διδάσκων ὡς πάντα μὲν εἰκὸς ἔξω εἶναι τὰ τῶν Μαντινέων βοσκήματα, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε καὶ σίτου συγκομιδῆς οὔσης.

15 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ᾤχοντο· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἱππεῖς ὁρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο μὲν ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, διελθόντες δὲ καὶ τὰς Κλεωνὰς ἐτύγχανον προσιόντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν καὶ καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐντὸς τείχους ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆλοι ἦσαν προσελαύνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐδέοντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων βοηθῆσαι, εἴ τι δύναιντο· ἔξω γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα πάντα καὶ τοὺς ἐργάτας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γεραιτέρους τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθοῦσιν, ἔτι ὄντες ἀνάριστοι καὶ αὐτοὶ
16 καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ τούτων αὖ τὴν ἀρετὴν τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθείη; οἳ καὶ πολὺ πλείους ὁρῶντες τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ δυστυχήματος γεγενημένου τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οὐδὲν τούτου ὑπελογίσαντο, οὐδ' ὅτι καὶ Θηβαίοις καὶ Θετταλοῖς τοῖς κρατίστοις ἱππεῦσιν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν ἔμελλον μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' αἰσχυνόμενοι, εἰ παρ-

there. Epaminondas, on the other hand, reflecting that the Arcadians would be coming to Lacedaemon to bring aid, had no desire to fight against them and against all the Lacedaemonians after they had come together,[1] especially since they had met with success and his men with disaster; so he marched back as rapidly as he could to Tegea, and allowed his hoplites to rest there, but sent his horsemen on to Mantinea, begging them to endure this additional effort and explaining to them that probably all the cattle of the Mantineans were outside the city and likewise all the people, particularly as it was harvest time. 362 B.C.

They then set forth; but the Athenian horsemen, setting out from Eleusis, had taken dinner at the Isthmus and, after having passed through Cleonae also, chanced to be approaching Mantinea or to be already quartered within the wall in the houses. And when the enemy were seen riding toward the city, the Mantineans begged the Athenian horsemen to help them, if in any way they could; for outside the wall were all their cattle and the labourers, and likewise many children and older men of the free citizens. When the Athenians heard this they sallied forth to the rescue, although they were still without breakfast, they and their horses as well. Here, again, who would not admire the valour of these men also? For although they saw that the enemy were far more numerous, and although a misfortune had befallen the horsemen at Corinth, they took no account of this, nor of the fact that they were about to fight with the Thebans and the Thessalians, who were thought to be the best of horsemen, but rather, being ashamed to be at hand and yet render no

[1] *cp.* § 10.

όντες μηδὲν ὠφελήσειαν τοὺς συμμάχους, ὡς εἶδον τάχιστα τοὺς πολεμίους, συνέρραξαν, ἐρῶν-
17 τες ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν πατρῴαν δόξαν. καὶ μαχόμενοι αἴτιοι μὲν ἐγένοντο τὰ ἔξω πάντα σωθῆναι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν, αὐτῶν δ' ἀπέθανοι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν δὲ δῆλον ὅτι τοιούτους· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω βραχὺ ὅπλον ἑκάτεροι εἶχον ᾧ οὐκ ἐξικνοῦντο ἀλλήλων. καὶ τοὺς μὲι φιλίους νεκροὺς οὐ προήκαντο, τῶν δὲ πολεμίωι ἦν οὓς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν.

18 Ὁ δ' αὖ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι ὀλίγων μὲν ἡμερῶν ἀνάγκη ἔσοιτο ἀπιέναι διὰ τὸ ἐξήκειν τῇ στρατείᾳ τὸν χρόνον, εἰ δὲ καταλείψοι ἐρήμους οἷς ἦλθε σύμμαχος, ἐκεῖνοι πολιορκήσοιντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπάλων, αὐτὸς δὲ λελυμασμένος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δόξῃ παντάπασιν ἔσοιτο, ἡττημένος μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι σὺν πολλῷ ὁπλιτικῷ ὑπ' ὀλίγων, ἡττημένος δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ ἱππομαχίᾳ, αἴτιος δὲ γεγενημένος διὰ τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον στρατείαν τοῦ συνεστάναι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἠλείους καὶ Ἀθηναίους· ὥστε οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ δυνατὸν εἶναι ἀμαχεὶ παρελθεῖν, λογιζομένῳ ὅτι εἰ μὲν νικῴη, πάντα ταῦτα ἀναλύσοιτο· εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, καλὴν τὴν τελευτὴν ἡγήσατο ἔσεσθαι πειρωμένῳ
19 τῇ πατρίδι ἀρχὴν Πελοποννήσου καταλιπεῖν. τὸ

service to their allies, just as soon as they saw the enemy they crashed upon them, eagerly desiring to win back their ancestral repute. And by engaging in the battle they did indeed prove the means of saving for the Mantineans everything that was outside the wall, but there fell brave men among them; and those also whom they slew were manifestly of a like sort; for neither side had any weapon so short that they did not reach one another therewith. And the Athenians did not abandon their own dead, and they gave back some of the enemy's under a truce. 362 B.C.

As for Epaminondas, on the other hand, when he considered that within a few days it would be necessary for him to depart, because the time fixed[1] for the campaign had expired, and that if he should leave behind him unprotected the people to whom he had come as an ally, they would be besieged by their adversaries, while he himself would have completely tarnished his own reputation,—for with a large force of hoplites he had been defeated at Lacedaemon by a few, and defeated likewise in a cavalry battle at Mantinea, and through his expedition to Peloponnesus had made himself the cause of the union of the Lacedaemonians, the Arcadians, the Achaeans, the Eleans, and the Athenians,—he thought for these reasons that it was not possible for him to pass by the enemy without a battle, since he reasoned that if he were victorious, he would make up for all these things, while if he were slain, he deemed that such an end would be honourable for one who was striving to leave to his fatherland dominion over Peloponnesus. Now the fact that

[1] Apparently either by the Theban government or by agreement with the allies.

μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν τοιαῦτα διανοεῖσθαι οὐ πάνυ μοι
δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι· φιλοτίμων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν
τὰ τοιαῦτα διανοήματα· τὸ μέντοι τὸ στράτευμα
παρεσκευακέναι ὡς πόνον τε μηδένα ἀποκάμνειν
μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας, κινδύνου τε μηδενὸς
ἀφίστασθαι, σπάνιά τε τἀπιτήδεια ἔχοντας ὅμως
πείθεσθαι ἐθέλειν, ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστότερα
20 εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὸ τελευταῖον παρήγγειλεν
αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης,
προθύμως μὲν ἐλευκοῦντο οἱ ἱππεῖς τὰ κράνη
κελεύοντος ἐκείνου, ἐπεγράφοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν
Ἀρκάδων ὁπλῖται ῥόπαλα, ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες,
πάντες δὲ ἠκονῶντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ
21 ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπίδας. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτω
παρεσκευασμένους ἐξήγαγεν, ἄξιον αὖ κατανοῆσαι
ἃ ἐποίησε. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ εἰκός, συνε-
τάττετο. τοῦτο δὲ πράττων σαφηνίζειν ἐδόκει
ὅτι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζετο· ἐπεί γε μὴν ἐτέ-
τακτο αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐβούλετο, τὴν μὲν
συντομωτάτην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγε, πρὸς
δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ὄρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας
ἡγεῖτο· ὥστε δόξαν παρεῖχε τοῖς πολεμίοις μὴ
22 ποιήσεσθαι μάχην ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ
ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ
φάλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα, ὥστε
εἰκάσθη στρατοπεδευομένῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας
ἔλυσε μὲν τῶν πλείστων πολεμίων τὴν ἐν ταῖς
ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην παρασκευήν, ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν ἐν

Epaminondas himself entertained such thoughts, 362 B.C. seems to me to be in no wise remarkable,—for such thoughts are natural to ambitious men; but that he had brought his army to such a point that the troops flinched from no toil, whether by night or by day, and shrank from no peril, and although the provisions they had were scanty, were nevertheless willing to be obedient, this seems to me to be more remarkable. For at the time when he gave them the last order to make ready, saying that there would be a battle, the horsemen eagerly whitened their helmets at his command, the hoplites of the Arcadians painted clubs[1] upon their shields, as though they were Thebans, and all alike sharpened their spears and daggers and burnished their shields. But when he had led them forth, thus made ready, it is worth while again to note what he did. In the first place, as was natural, he formed them in line of battle. And by doing this he seemed to make it clear that he was preparing for an engagement; but when his army had been drawn up as he wished it to be, he did not advance by the shortest route towards the enemy, but led the way towards the mountains which lie to the westward and over against Tegea, so that he gave the enemy the impression that he would not join battle on that day. For as soon as he had arrived at the mountain, and when his battle line had been extended to its full length, he grounded arms at the foot of the heights, so that he seemed like one who was encamping. And by so doing he caused among most of the enemy a relaxation of their mental readiness for fighting, and likewise a relaxation of their readiness as regards their

[1] The Theban device.

ταῖς συντάξεσιν. ἐπεί γε μὴν παραγαγὼν τοὺς
ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους εἰς μέτωπον ἰσχυ-
ρὸν ἐποιήσατο τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον, τότε δὴ
ἀναλαβεῖν παραγγείλας τὰ ὅπλα ἡγεῖτο· οἱ δ'
ἠκολούθουν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν
ἐπιόντας, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἐδύνατο,
ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔθεον εἰς τὰς τάξεις, οἱ δὲ παρετάτ-
τοντο, οἱ δὲ ἵππους ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ θώρακας
ἐνεδύοντο, πάντες δὲ πεισομένοις τι μᾶλλον ἢ
23 ποιήσουσιν ἐῴκεσαν. ὁ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀντί-
πρῳρον ὥσπερ τριήρη προσῆγε, νομίζων, ὅποι
ἐμβαλὼν διακόψειε, διαφθερεῖν ὅλον τὸ τῶν ἐναν-
τίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰσχυροτάτῳ
παρεσκευάζετο ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστατον
πόρρω ἀπέστησεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡττηθὲν ἀθυμίαν ἂν
παράσχοι τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ῥώμην δὲ τοῖς πολε-
μίοις. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ἱππέας οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἀντι-
παρετάξαντο ὥσπερ ὁπλιτῶν φάλαγγα βάθος ἐφ'
24 ἓξ καὶ ἔρημον πεζῶν ἁμίππων· ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινών-
δας αὖ καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἔμβολον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιή-
σατο, καὶ ἁμίππους πεζοὺς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς,
νομίζων τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐπεὶ διακόψειεν, ὅλον τὸ
ἀντίπαλον νενικηκὼς ἔσεσθαι· μάλα γὰρ χαλεπὸν
εὑρεῖν τοὺς ἐθελήσοντας μένειν, ἐπειδάν τινας
φεύγοντας τῶν ἑαυτῶν ὁρῶσι· καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐπι-

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[1] The entire army, marching in a long column of even width, with Epaminondas at the head, "right-faced" upon reaching the desired position, thus forming a long battle-line,

array for battle. It was not until he had moved 362 B.C.
along successive companies to the wing where he was stationed, and had wheeled them into line, thus strengthening the mass formation of this wing,[1] that he gave the order to take up arms and led the advance; and his troops followed. Now as soon as the enemy saw them unexpectedly approaching, no one among them was able to keep quiet, but some began running to their posts, others forming into line, others bridling horses, and others putting on breast-plates, while all were like men who were about to suffer, rather than to inflict, harm. Meanwhile Epaminondas led forward his army prow on, like a trireme, believing that if he could strike and cut through anywhere, he would destroy the entire army of his adversaries. For he was preparing to make the contest with the strongest part of his force, and the weakest part he had stationed far back, knowing that if defeated it would cause discouragement to the troops who were with him and give courage to the enemy. Again, while the enemy had formed their horsemen like a phalanx of hoplites, —six deep and without intermingled foot soldiers,— Epaminondas on the other hand had made a strong column of his cavalry, also, and had mingled foot soldiers among them, believing that when he cut through the enemy's cavalry, he would have defeated the entire opposing army; for it is very hard to find men who will stand firm when they see any of their own side in flight. And in order to prevent

of even, but slight, depth, with Epaminondas on the left wing. He wished, however, to increase the depth of this wing. He accordingly caused successive companies, from the centre and the right wing, to "left face" again and march along behind the line to the left wing, thus gradually increasing its depth.

βοηθῶσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον, κατέστησεν ἐπὶ γηλόφων τινῶν ἐναντίους αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππέας καὶ ὁπλίτας, φόβον βουλόμενος καὶ τούτοις παρέχειν ὡς, εἰ βοηθήσαιεν, ὄπισθεν οὗτοι ἐπικείσοιντο αὐτοῖς.

Τὴν μὲν δὴ συμβολὴν οὕτως ἐποιήσατο, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος· κρατήσας γὰρ ᾗ προσέβαλεν ὅλον ἐποίησε φεύγειν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων. 25 ἐπεί γε μὴν ἐκεῖνος ἔπεσεν, οἱ λοιποὶ οὐδὲ τῇ νίκῃ ὀρθῶς ἔτι ἐδυνάσθησαν χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ φυγούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐναντίας φάλαγγος οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν οἱ ὁπλῖται οὐδὲ προῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἔνθα ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο. φυγόντων δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἀπέκτειναν μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἱππεῖς διώκοντες οὔτε ἱππέας οὔθ' ὁπλίτας, ὥσπερ δὲ ἡττημένοι πεφοβημένως διὰ τῶν φευγόντων πολεμίων διέπεσον. καὶ μὴν οἱ ἅμιπποι καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ συννενικηκότες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἀφίκοντο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, ὡς κρατοῦντες, ἐκεῖ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον.

26 Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων τοὐναντίον ἐγεγένητο οὗ ἐνόμισαν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔσεσθαι. συνεληλυθυίας γὰρ σχεδὸν ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων, οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅστις οὐκ ᾤετο, εἰ μάχη ἔσοιτο, τοὺς μὲν κρατήσαντας ἄρξειν, τοὺς δὲ κρατηθέντας ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὥστε ἀμφότεροι μὲν τροπαῖον ὡς

the Athenians on the left wing from coming to the 362 B.C. aid of those who were posted next to them, he stationed both horsemen and hoplites upon some hills over against them, desiring to create in them the fear that if they proceeded to give aid, these troops would fall upon them from behind.

Thus, then, he made his attack, and he was not disappointed of his hope; for by gaining the mastery at the point where he struck, he caused the entire army of his adversaries to flee. When, however, he had himself fallen, those who were left proved unable to take full advantage thereafter even of the victory; but although the opposing phalanx had fled before them, their hoplites did not kill a single man or advance beyond the spot where the collision had taken place; and although the cavalry also had fled before them, their cavalry in like manner did not pursue and kill either horsemen or hoplites, but slipped back timorously, like beaten men, through the lines of the flying enemy. Furthermore, while the intermingled footmen and the peltasts, who had shared in the victory of the cavalry, did make their way like victors to the region of the enemy's left wing, most of them were there slain by the Athenians.

When these things had taken place, the opposite of what all men believed would happen was brought to pass. For since well-nigh all the people of Greece had come together and formed themselves in opposing lines, there was no one who did not suppose that if a battle were fought, those who proved victorious would be the rulers and those who were defeated would be their subjects; but the deity so ordered it that both parties set up a trophy as though

νενικηκότες ἐστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἱσταμένους οὐδέτεροι ἐκώλυον, νεκροὺς δὲ ἀμφότεροι μὲν ὡς νενικηκότες ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν, ἀμφότεροι δὲ ὡς
27 ἡττημένοι ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελάμβανον, νενικηκέναι δὲ φάσκοντες ἑκάτεροι οὔτε χώρᾳ οὔτε πόλει οὔτ' ἀρχῇ οὐδέτεροι οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες ἐφάνησαν ἢ πρὶν τὴν μάχην γενέσθαι· ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ ἔτι πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω· τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἴσως ἄλλῳ μελήσει.

victorious and neither tried to hinder those who set them up, that both gave back the dead under a truce as though victorious, and both received back their dead under a truce as though defeated, and that while each party claimed to be victorious, neither was found to be any better off, as regards either additional territory, or city, or sway, than before the battle took place; but there was even more confusion and disorder in Greece after the battle than before. 362 B.C.

Thus far be it written by me; the events after these will perhaps be the concern of another.

XENOPHON
THE ANABASIS OF CYRUS

INTRODUCTION

XENOPHON'S *Anabasis*[1] is the story of the expedition which Cyrus the Younger[2] led against his brother Artaxerxes II., king of Persia, in the hope of gaining for himself the Persian throne; of the retreat to the Euxine Sea, after the death of Cyrus, of the "Ten Thousand" Greeks who had made part of his army; and of their ultimate return to western Asia Minor.

Cyrus undertook his ill-fated expedition in 401 B.C. Before that time he had played a somewhat prominent part in Greek history. Toward the close of the great struggle for supremacy between Athens and Sparta, which lasted from 431 to 404 B.C. and is known as the Peloponnesian War, the Spartans had concluded an alliance with Tissaphernes, Persian satrap of Lydia and Ionia and

[1] The verb ἀναβαίνειν, *lit.* "to go up," was used of any journey from the sea coast to the higher lands of the interior, but more especially of the famous route from the Greek coast of Asia Minor to the Persian capital, Susa. Hence the noun ἀνάβασις—"Anabasis." It will be seen that the title properly belongs only to the first part of Xenophon's story.

[2] Usually so called to distinguish him from Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian Empire.

commander-in-chief of all the Persian forces of western Asia Minor. Tissaphernes hoped that with the help of the Spartans he might regain control of the Greek cities on the Asiatic coast which had formerly been under Persian rule, but were now included in the Athenian Empire; the Spartans, on their side, were to receive subsidies from him for the support of their fleet. Tissaphernes, however, was a double-dealer by nature; furthermore, he was persuaded by the Athenian Alcibiades that it was to the interest of Persia that neither Greek belligerent should triumph, but that both should exhaust themselves by continued warfare. Accordingly he soon reduced and finally cut off altogether the stipulated grants of money to the Spartans. When the latter protested to the then reigning king of Persia, Darius II., against this breach of faith, the king commissioned Cyrus, the younger of his two sons, as satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and military commander of all western Asia Minor.[1] Thus Cyrus practically superseded Tissaphernes, who was divested of his military authority and retained only the lesser part—Ionia—of his former satrapy.

Cyrus entered upon his important offices in 407 B.C., when he was but seventeen years of age. He had been instructed by Darius to give whole-hearted support to the Spartans, whose fortunes seemed to be then at their lowest ebb. In the performance of

[1] *Anabasis*, I. i. 2.

this task he showed himself able, zealous, and straightforward. The aid which he rendered to the Spartans was certainly a most important, perhaps an essential, factor in bringing about their final triumph over the Athenians.

Shortly before the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, *i.e.* in 405 B.C., Cyrus was called away from his post in Asia Minor to be present at the death-bed of his father.[1] But his participation in the war had given him opportunity to learn the immense superiority of the Greek soldier and Greek methods of warfare over the Persian soldier and Persian warfare, and to establish relations of friendship with many officers of the Peloponnesian forces; furthermore, the termination of the war in 404 B.C., after it had lasted more than a quarter of a century, released from military service thousands of men who knew no other calling and had no desire to turn to peaceful pursuits. These circumstances explain not only why Cyrus wished, but how he was able, to enlist Greeks for the great enterprise upon which he soon afterwards embarked, *viz.* his attempt to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes.

The only reason for this attempt which Xenophon offers in the *Anabasis*[2] was the resentment and humiliation which Cyrus felt in consequence of his arrest by Artaxerxes at the time when the latter, assuming the royal power upon the death of Darius

[1] *Anabasis*, I. i. 2. [2] I. i. 4.

(405 B.C.), was led by the false [1] accusation of Tissaphernes to believe that Cyrus was plotting against him. We learn from other sources that Cyrus had expected to be designated by Darius as heir to the throne, partly because he was the favourite son of the queen,[2] and still more because he was "born in the purple," *i.e.* after the accession of Darius, while Artaxerxes was not. In fact, it was for precisely these reasons that Xerxes, eighty years before, had been chosen king of Persia to the exclusion of an older brother.

Xenophon was an eye-witness of the events which he describes in the *Anabasis*. He had joined the expedition, "not as general or captain or private," [3] but upon the solicitation of his friend Proxenus, who was one of the Greek generals in Cyrus' service. At this time Xenophon was probably somewhat less than thirty years of age. Despite his comparative youth, and despite the fact that he was an Athenian in an army of Peloponnesians,[4] he was destined to play the leading part in the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand, a part which he describes with simple directness and unaffected modesty.

The time of the composition of the *Anabasis* has been a subject for dispute. It can hardly be doubted

[1] That Xenophon so regarded it is made clear by his use of the verb διαβάλλει (I. i. 3, see translation).

[2] *Anabasis*, I. i. 4. [3] *Anabasis*, III. i. 4.

[4] *cp.* I. i. 6 and the roll of the Greek generals, I. i. 9–ii. 3. Cyrus' previous associations, it will be remembered, had been with Peloponnesians only.

that the narrative was based upon full notes which Xenophon must have taken during the progress of the events which it covers; and the natural assumption that it would have been reduced to final form while these events were still fresh in the thoughts of the writer and his countrymen is supported by internal evidence, *viz.* characteristics of style which appear to mark the *Anabasis* as one of Xenophon's earlier works. On the other hand, an autobiographical digression in the fifth book[1] was probably composed as late as 370 B.C.; and secondly, when Xenophon alludes to the expedition of Cyrus in a passage[2] of his *Hellenica* which was written *c.* 380 B.C., he refers his reader for fuller information to a history of the expedition by "Themistogenes the Syracusan," thus implying, apparently, that his own *Anabasis* was not at that time in existence. A reasonable way of reconciling these conflicting indications has been found in the view that Xenophon's *Anabasis* was *written*, in very nearly its present form, soon after the author returned to Greece from Asia in 394 B.C., but was not *published* until *c.* 370 B.C. It is held that Xenophon may well have wished to delay until his later years the publication of a work in which he himself figured so prominently.

The march of the Ten Thousand Greeks from Sardis to the gates of Babylon, and thence back to the Greek coast of the Euxine Sea, was an historical

[1] v. iii. 7–13. [2] III. i. 2.

event of the first importance. Defeating with scarcely an effort Persian forces many times their number, and accomplishing a safe return despite all the efforts of Artaxerxes to hinder them, they revealed to all men the utter weakness of the immense, much vaunted, and much dreaded Persian Empire. Greek statesmen and commanders were not slow to read the lesson. In the words of Francis Bacon[1]: "This young scholar or philosopher [Xenophon], after all the captains were murdered in parley by treason, conducted these ten thousand foot through the heart of all the king's high countries, from Babylon to Graecia, in safety, to the astonishment of the world and the encouragement of the Grecians in time succeeding to make invasion upon the kings of Persia, as was afterwards purposed by Jason the Thessalian, attempted by Agesilaus the Spartan, and achieved by Alexander the Macedonian, all upon the ground of the act of that young scholar."

While the march of the Ten Thousand revealed to the Greeks the weakness of the Persians, Xenophon's account of it reveals to us most clearly the fine qualities of these Greek soldiers of fortune—their courage and endurance, piety and humanity, independence and reasonableness. True soldiers in their readiness to meet danger and hardship, they were still free Greeks, who could be governed only with their own consent and who insisted upon being heard

[1] *The Advancement of Learning*, I. vii. 30.

and consulted in matters of common interest. They have been truly called "a marching democracy," "a roving commonwealth," "deliberating and acting, fighting and voting; an epitome of Athens set adrift in the centre of Asia." One hardly needs other evidence of the strength, the character, and the temper of a people whose "mercenary" troops were men like these.

The *Anabasis* is valuable, furthermore, for the information it yields regarding the art of war among the Greeks, and as a real contribution to military science. Xenophon was, or became in the course of the retreat, an exceedingly able strategist and tactician, approaching each problem in the spirit of a scholar and thinker and then translating his reasoned solution into terms of military method, always resourceful in meeting new situations with new tactics, and never fettered by the lore of accepted practice. The influence of his original and inventive genius upon later Greek warfare was profound. That influence has lasted down to our own time. A modern student[1] of military science writes: "The soldier of greatest use to us preceding Alexander was unquestionably Xenophon. . . . It is he who has shown the world what should be the tactics of retreat, how to command a rear-guard. More tactical originality has come from the *Anabasis* than from any dozen other books. . . . After the lapse

[1] Col. Theodore A. Dodge, *Alexander*, pp. 101 ff.

of twenty-three centuries, there is no better military text-book than the *Anabasis*."

Finally, the simplicity and grace, the charm and vividness with which Xenophon's story is told give it a high place among narratives of travel and adventure. Taine has even said of the *Anabasis* that "the beauty of the style transcends the interest of the story." Certainly, Xenophon's reputation as a man of letters depends in no small degree upon the *Anabasis*.

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

1.—MANUSCRIPTS

The extant MSS. of the *Anabasis* fall into two groups. The first, or superior, group includes :—

C. Parisinus 1640, written in the year 1320, but from an original of the latter part of the ninth century. Many additions and changes, by a later hand and usually for the worse, are found in this MS. In the present edition C_1 designates the earlier hand and C_2 the later.
B. Parisinus 1641, of the fifteenth century.
A. Vaticanus 987, later than B.
E. Etonensis, of the fifteenth century.

C is far the best of all the MSS. It was clearly the source from which B, A, and E were copied.

The best MSS. of the second, or inferior, group are

D. Bodleianus (lib. Canon. 39), of the fifteenth century.
V. Vindobonensis 95, of the fifteenth century.

2.—EDITIONS OF THE ANABASIS [1]

The *Anabasis* has been so long and so universally employed as a text-book for beginners in Greek that almost numberless editions of the work have been published. It must suffice to mention a very few :

(*a*) *Annotated Editions.*

REHDANTZ-CARNUTH : Berlin (Weidmann).
VOLLBRECHT, W. : Leipzig (Teubner).
GOODWIN AND WHITE : Boston (Ginn).
MATHER AND HEWITT : New York (American Book Co.).

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[1] For important editions of the complete works of Xenophon see *Hellenica*, Vol. I., of this series, p. xiii.

(*b*) *Critical Editions.*

DINDORF, L. : Leipzig and Oxford.
COBET, C. G. : Leyden.
HUG, A. : Leipzig.
GEMOLL, W. : Leipzig (editio major).
MARCHANT, E. C. : Oxford.

The text of the present edition is selective, the critical notes calling attention to important variations from the texts of Marchant and Gemoll.

BOOK I

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ

Α

I. *Δαρείου καὶ* Παρυσάτιδος *γίγνονται παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν* Ἀρταξέρξης, *νεώτερος δὲ* Κῦρος· *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠσθένει Δαρεῖος καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετο τὼ παῖδε ἀμφοτέρω*
2 *παρεῖναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγχανε·* Κῦρον *δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων ὅσοι εἰς* Καστωλοῦ *πεδίον ἀθροίζονται. ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ* Κῦρος *λαβὼν* Τισσαφέρνην *ὡς φίλον καὶ τῶν* Ἑλλήνων *ἔχων ὁπλίτας τριακοσίους,*[1] *ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν* Ξενίαν Παρράσιον.
3 Ἐπεὶ *δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρεῖος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν* Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρνης *διαβάλλει τὸν* Κῦρον *πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ πείθεται καὶ συλλαμβάνει*[2] Κῦρον *ὡς ἀποκτενῶν· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἐξαιτησαμένη*

[1] Before *τριακοσίους* the MSS. have *ἀνέβη*: Gemoll brackets, following Bisschop.
[2] *συλλαμβάνει* MSS. except C_1, Marchant: *λαμβάνει* C_1, Gemoll.

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[1] In regard to the persons mentioned and the events sketched in §§ 1–4, see Introduction, pp. 231 *sqq*.

XENOPHON
THE ANABASIS OF CYRUS

BOOK I

I. DARIUS and Parysatis had two sons born to them, of whom the elder was Artaxerxes and the younger Cyrus.[1] Now when Darius lay sick and suspected that the end of his life was near, he wished to have both his sons with him. The elder, as it chanced, was with him already; but Cyrus he summoned from the province over which he had made him satrap, and he had also appointed him commander of all the forces that muster in the plain of Castolus.[2] Cyrus accordingly went up[3] to his father, taking with him Tissaphernes as a friend and accompanied by three hundred Greek hoplites,[4] under the command of Xenias of Parrhasia.

When Darius had died and Artaxerxes had become established as king, Tissaphernes falsely accused Cyrus to his brother of plotting against him. And Artaxerxes, believing the accusation, arrested Cyrus, with the intention of putting him to death; his mother, however, made intercession for him, and sent him back

[2] Castolus was the mustering place for all the Persian forces of western Asia Minor. See Introd. p. 232.
[3] See Introd. p. 231, note 1.
[4] *i.e.* heavy-armed infantrymen, the regular "troops of the line" in Greek warfare. In this instance, of course, they are serving Cyrus as a bodyguard.

4 αὐτὸν ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. ὁ δ'
ὡς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθείς, βου-
λεύεται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ,
ἀλλά, ἢν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει ἀντ' ἐκείνου. Πα-
ρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ,
φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρτα-
5 ξέρξην. ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως
πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας οὕτω διατιθεὶς ἀπεπέμπετο
ὥστε αὐτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ. καὶ
τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς
πολεμεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν
6 αὐτῷ. τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἤθροιζεν
ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτόμενος, ὅπως ὅτι
ἀπαρασκευότατον λάβοι βασιλέα.

Ὧδε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογήν. ὁπόσας εἶχε
φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουρ-
άρχοις ἑκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοπον-
νησίους ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὡς ἐπιβου-
λεύοντος Τισσαφέρνους ταῖς πόλεσι. καὶ γὰρ
ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρνους τὸ ἀρχαῖον
ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομέναι, τότε δὲ ἀφειστήκεσαν
7 πρὸς Κῦρον πᾶσαι πλὴν Μιλήτου· ἐν Μιλήτῳ
δὲ Τισσαφέρνης προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα
βουλευομένους, ἀποστῆναι πρὸς Κῦρον, τοὺς μὲν
αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος
ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας συλλέξας στράτευμα
ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ
θάλατταν καὶ ἐπειρᾶτο κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτω-

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[1] "Barbarians" is a convenient, but not an accurate, translation for βάρβαροι, which was simply the name the Greeks gave, without implying reproach, to all peoples who

again to his province. Now when Cyrus had thus returned, after his danger and disgrace, he set about planning that he might never again be in the power of his brother, but, if possible, might be king in his stead. He had, in the first place, the support of Parysatis, his mother, for she loved him better than the son who was king, Artaxerxes. Again, when any of the King's court came to visit him, he treated them all in such a way that when he sent them back they were more devoted to him than to the King. He also took care that the barbarians[1] of his own province should be capable soldiers and should feel kindly toward him. Lastly, as regards his Greek force, he proceeded to collect it with the utmost secrecy, so that he might take the King as completely unprepared as possible.

It was in the following way, then, that he gathered this force: In the first place, he sent orders to the commanders of all the garrisons he had in the cities to enlist as many Peloponnesian soldiers of the best sort as they severally could, on the plea that Tissaphernes had designs upon their cities. For, in fact, the Ionian cities had originally belonged to Tissaphernes, by gift of the King,[2] but at that time all of them except Miletus had revolted and gone over to Cyrus. The people of Miletus also were planning to do the very same thing, namely, to go over to Cyrus, but Tissaphernes, finding out about it in time, put some of them to death and banished others. Cyrus thereupon took the exiles under his protection, collected an army, and laid siege to Miletus both by land and by sea, and endeavoured to restore the exiles to their

were not Greeks. In general, then, it meant "foreigners"; in most cases in the *Anabasis* (as here) it could be translated "Persians."

[2] See Introd. p. 232.

κότας. καὶ αὕτη αὖ ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν στράτευμα.

8 πρὸς δὲ βασιλέα πέμπων ἠξίου ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ δοθῆναι οἷ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον ἢ Τισσαφέρνην ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα· ὥστε βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλὴν οὐκ ᾐσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν πολεμούντων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὧν Τισσαφέρνους[1] ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων.

9 Ἄλλο δὲ στράτευμα αὐτῷ συνελέγετο ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τῇ κατ' ἀντιπέρας Ἀβύδου τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἦν· τούτῳ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κῦρος ἠγάσθη τε αὐτὸν καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μυρίους δαρεικούς. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἐπολέμει ἐκ Χερρονήσου ὁρμώμενος τοῖς Θρᾳξὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκοῦσι καὶ ὠφέλει τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὥστε καὶ χρήματα συνεβάλλοντο αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τροφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱ Ἑλλησποντιακαὶ πόλεις ἑκοῦσαι. τοῦτο δ' αὖ οὕτω τρεφόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα.

10 Ἀρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς ξένος ὢν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστα-

[1] Τισσαφέρνους Mar., following Krüger: Τισσαφέρνης MSS.: Τισσαφέρνης ἔτι Gem.

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[1] For the reason for his banishment see II. vi. 2–4.

[2] The daric was a Persian gold coin, equivalent in weight

city; and this, again, made him another pretext for gathering an army. Meanwhile he sent to the King and urged, on the ground that he was his brother, that these Ionian cities should be given to him instead of remaining under the rule of Tissaphernes, and his mother co-operated with him in this. The result was that the King failed to perceive the plot against himself, but believed that Cyrus was spending money on his troops because he was at war with Tissaphernes. Consequently he was not at all displeased at their being at war, the less so because Cyrus regularly remitted to the King the tribute which came in from the cities he chanced to have that belonged to Tissaphernes.

Still another army was being collected for him in the Chersonese which is opposite Abydus, in the following manner: Clearchus[1] was a Lacedaemonian exile; Cyrus, making his acquaintance, came to admire him, and gave him ten thousand darics.[2] And Clearchus, taking the gold, collected an army by means of this money, and using the Chersonese as a base of operations, proceeded to make war upon the Thracians who dwell beyond the Hellespont, thereby aiding the Greeks.[3] Consequently, the Hellespontine cities of their own free will sent Clearchus contributions of money for the support of his troops. So it was that this army also was being secretly maintained for Cyrus.

Again, Aristippus the Thessalian chanced to be a friend of Cyrus, and since he was hard pressed by his

of gold to £1 2*s*. 2½*d*. or $5.40, but in purchasing power to a much larger sum.

[3] *i.e.* the Greeks on the European side of the Hellespont, who suffered from the incursions of their Thracian neighbours.

σιωτῶν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον καὶ αἰτεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους καὶ[1] τριῶν μηνῶν μισθόν, ὡς οὕτως περιγενόμενος ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἓξ μηνῶν μισθόν, καὶ δεῖται αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσηται. οὕτω δὲ αὖ τὸ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στράτευμα.

11 Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιώτιον ξένον ὄντα ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους παραγενέσθαι, ὡς ἐς Πισίδας βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι, ὡς πράγματα παρεχόντων τῶν Πισιδῶν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνετον δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιόν, ξένους ὄντας καὶ τούτους, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὡς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρνει σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τοῖς Μιλησίων· καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτως οὗτοι.

II. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει ἤδη πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο ὡς Πισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ λαβόντι ἥκειν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα, καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππῳ συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὃ εἶχε στράτευμα· καὶ Ξενίᾳ τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ προειστήκει τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξενικοῦ, ἥκειν παραγγέλλει λαβόντα τοὺς ἄλλους[2] πλὴν ὁπόσοι ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν
2 τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν. ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς

[1] καὶ MSS.: Gem. brackets.
[2] τοὺς ἄλλους MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Dindorf.

political opponents at home, he came to Cyrus and asked him for three months' pay for two thousand mercenaries, urging that in this way he should get the better of his opponents. And Cyrus gave him six months' pay for four thousand, and requested him not to come to terms with his opponents until he had consulted with him. Thus the army in Thessaly, again, was being secretly maintained for him.

Furthermore, Cyrus directed Proxenus the Boeotian, who was a friend of his, to come to him with as many men as he could get, saying that he wished to undertake a campaign against the Pisidians, because, as he said, they were causing trouble to his province. He also directed Sophaenetus the Stymphalian and Socrates the Achaean, who were likewise friends of his, to come with as many men as they could get, saying that he intended to make war upon Tissaphernes with the aid of the Milesian exiles; and they proceeded to carry out his directions.

II. When he thought the time had come to begin his upward[1] march, the pretext he offered was that he wished to drive the Pisidians out of his land entirely, and it was avowedly against them that he set about collecting both his barbarian and his Greek troops. At that time he also sent word to Clearchus to come to him with the entire army which he had, and to Aristippus to effect a reconciliation with his adversaries at home and send him the army which he had; and he sent word to Xenias the Arcadian, who commanded for him the mercenary force in the cities,[2] to come with his troops, leaving behind only so many as were necessary to garrison the citadels. He likewise summoned the troops which were besieging

[1] See Introd. p. 231, note 1. [2] See i. 6.

Μίλητον πολιορκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ἃ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι[1] πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι οἴκαδε. οἱ δὲ ἡδέως ἐπείθοντο· ἐπίστευον γὰρ αὐτῷ· καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα παρῆσαν εἰς Σάρδεις.

3 Ξενίας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις ὁπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, Πρόξενος δὲ παρῆν ἔχων ὁπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνῆτας δὲ πεντακοσίους, Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος ὁπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους,[2] Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιὸς ὁπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους, Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς τριακοσίους μὲν ὁπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς ἔχων παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατευομένων. οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο.

4 Τισσαφέρνης δὲ κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἡγησάμενος εἶναι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Πισίδας τὴν παρασκευήν, πορεύεται ὡς βασιλέα ᾗ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα
5 ἱππέας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους τὸν Κύρου στόλον, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο.

Κῦρος δὲ ἔχων οὓς εἴρηκα ὡρμᾶτο ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τὸν Μαίαν-

[1] παύσασθαι MSS. except VZ, Gem.: παύσεσθαι VZ, Mar.
[2] Σοφαίνετος . . . χιλίους MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Dindorf.

Miletus, and urged the Milesian exiles to take the field with him, promising them that, if he should successfully accomplish the object for which he was taking the field, he would not stop until he had restored them to their homes. And they gladly obeyed—for they trusted him—and presented themselves, under arms, at Sardis.

Xenias, then, arrived at Sardis with the troops from the cities, who were hoplites to the number of four thousand; Proxenus was there with hoplites to the number of fifteen hundred, and five hundred light-armed troops; Sophaenetus the Stymphalian with a thousand hoplites; Socrates the Achaean with about five hundred hoplites; and Pasion the Megarian arrived with three hundred hoplites and three hundred peltasts.[1] The last-named, and Socrates also, belonged to the force that had been engaged in besieging Miletus. All these came to Cyrus at Sardis.

Meanwhile Tissaphernes had taken note of these proceedings and come to the conclusion that Cyrus' preparations were too extensive to be against the Pisidians; he accordingly made his way to the King as quickly as he could, with about five hundred horsemen. And when the King heard from Tissaphernes about Cyrus' array, he set about making counter-preparations.

Cyrus was now setting forth from Sardis with the troops I have mentioned; and he marched through Lydia three stages,[2] a distance of twenty-two

[1] Peltasts differed from ordinary light-armed troops (*cp.* γυμνῆτας above) only in the fact that they carried a small, light shield, the πέλτη—whence their name.

[2] σταθμός = lit. a stopping-place, hence a day's journey.

δρον ποταμόν. τούτου τὸ εὖρος δύο πλέθρα·
6 γέφυρα δὲ ἐπῆν ἑπτὰ[1] ἐζευγμένη πλοίοις. τοῦτον
διαβὰς ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἕνα
παρασάγγας ὀκτὼ εἰς Κολοσσάς, πόλιν οἰκου-
μένην καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα
ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἑπτά· καὶ ἧκε Μένων ὁ Θετταλὸς
ὁπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς πεντα-
κοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Ὀλυνθίους.
7 ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας
εἴκοσιν εἰς Κελαινάς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκου-
μένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ
βασίλεια ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας ἀγρίων θηρίων
πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὁπότε
γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους.
διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ῥεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος
ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασι-
8 λείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. ἔστι
δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασίλεια ἐν Κελαιναῖς
ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσύου ποταμοῦ
ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς
πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον· τοῦ δὲ
Μαρσύου τὸ εὖρός ἐστιν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν.
ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν
νικήσας ἐρίζοντά οἱ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα
κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ
9 τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας. ἐνταῦθα
Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ

[1] ἑπτὰ ἐζευγμένη Gem., following Hug: ἐπεζευγμένη MSS.

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[1] A Persian measure of distance, equivalent to 30 Greek stadia, or about 3.3 English miles.

[2] The plethrum = about 97 English feet.

[3] Many of the cities of Asia were then, as now, deserted.

parasangs,[1] to the Maeander river. The width of this river was two plethra,[2] and there was a bridge over it made of seven boats. After crossing the Maeander he marched through Phrygia one stage, a distance of eight parasangs, to Colossae, an inhabited[3] city, prosperous and large. There he remained seven days; and Menon[4] the Thessalian arrived, with a thousand hoplites and five hundred peltasts, consisting of Dolopians, Aenianians, and Olynthians. Thence he marched three stages, twenty parasangs, to Celaenae, an inhabited city of Phrygia, large and prosperous. There Cyrus had a palace and a large park full of wild animals, which he used to hunt on horseback whenever he wished to give himself and his horses exercise. Through the middle of this park flows the Maeander river; its sources are beneath the palace, and it flows through the city of Celaenae also. There is likewise a palace of the Great King[5] in Celaenae, strongly fortified and situated at the foot of the Acropolis over the sources of the Marsyas river; the Marsyas also flows through the city, and empties into the Maeander, and its width is twenty-five feet. It was here, according to the story, that Apollo flayed Marsyas,[6] after having defeated him in a contest of musical skill; he hung up his skin in the cave from which the sources issue, and it is for this reason that the river is called Marsyas. It was here also, report has it, that Xerxes, when he was on

[4] Who had been sent by Aristippus (see § 1 above).

[5] A title often given by the Greeks to the king of Persia.

[6] Marsyas, a Phrygian satyr, was so proud of his skill with the flute that he presumed to challenge Apollo, god of music and master of the lyre. The myth appears to be a record of the supersession of the flute by the lyre in Greek favour.

ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἧκε Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἔχων ὁπλίτας χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς Θρᾷκας ὀκτακοσίους καὶ τοξότας Κρῆτας διακοσίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Σῶσις παρῆν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἔχων ὁπλίτας τριακοσίους, καὶ 'Αγίας ὁ 'Αρκὰς[1] ἔχων ὁπλίτας χιλίους. καὶ ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες ὁπλῖται μὲν μύριοι χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους.

10 'Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ 'Αρκὰς τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἆθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῦρος. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δώδεκα ἐς Κεράμων ἀγοράν, πόλιν οἰκου-

11 μένην, ἐσχάτην πρὸς τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρᾳ. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς Καΰστρου πεδίον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠφείλετο μισθὸς πλέον ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν, καὶ πολλάκις ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπῄτουν. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διῆγε καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου ἔχοντα μὴ ἀποδιδόναι.

[1] 'Αγίας ὁ 'Αρκὰς Köchly: Σοφαίνετος 'Αρκάδας MSS., Gem., Mar.

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[1] viz. of Salamis, in 480 B.C.

[2] Here used in the general sense, *i.e.* to include all kinds of light-armed troops; *cp.* note on § 3 above. Xenophon

his retreat from Greece after losing the famous battle,[1] built the palace just mentioned and likewise the citadel of Celaenae. Here Cyrus remained thirty days; and Clearchus, the Lacedaemonian exile, arrived, with a thousand hoplites, eight hundred Thracian peltasts, and two hundred Cretan bowmen. At the same time came also Sosis the Syracusan with three hundred hoplites and Agias the Arcadian with a thousand hoplites. And here Cyrus held a review and made an enumeration of the Greeks in the park, and they amounted all told to eleven thousand hoplites and about two thousand peltasts.[2]

Thence he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to Peltae, an inhabited city. There he remained three days, during which time Xenias the Arcadian celebrated the Lycaean[3] festival with sacrifice and held games; the prizes were golden strigils, and Cyrus himself was one of those who watched the games. Thence he marched two stages, twelve parasangs, to the inhabited city of Ceramon-agora,[4] the last Phrygian city as one goes toward Mysia. Thence he marched three stages, thirty parasangs, to Caÿstru-pedion,[5] an inhabited city. There he remained five days. At this time he was owing the soldiers more than three months' pay, and they went again and again to his headquarters and demanded what was due them. He all the while expressed hopes, and was manifestly troubled; for it was not Cyrus' way to withhold payment when he had

here uses round numbers. The exact totals, according to the figures previously given, are 10,600 hoplites and 2,300 light-armed troops.

[3] In honour of Lycaean Zeus, i.e. Zeus of Mt. Lycaeus, in Arcadia.

[4] Or Tilemarket. [5] Or Caÿsterfield.

[illegible] Συεννέσιος γυνὴ [illegible] καὶ ἐλέγετο [illegible] τῇ στρατιᾷ [illegible] μηνῶν. [illegible] Κίλικας [illegible] γενέσθαι [illegible]

[illegible] παρασάγγας [illegible] ἐνταῦθα [illegible] καλουμένη τοῦ [illegible] Μίδας τὸν [illegible] ἐντεῦθεν [illegible] δέκα εἰς [illegible] ἔμεινεν [illegible] ἡ Κίλισσα [illegible] βουλόμενος [illegible] πεδίῳ τῶν [illegible] ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς [illegible] ταχθῆναι καὶ στῆναι [illegible] τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. ἐτάχθησαν [illegible] εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. ἐθεώρει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ παρήλαυνον τεταγμένοι κατὰ ἴλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, παρελαύνων ἐφ' ἅρματος καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα

[illegible] but in fact a dependent of the king [illegible] was working, as the narrative indicates, [illegible] both Cyrus and Artaxerxes, [illegible] while still making a show of [illegible]

money. At this juncture arrived Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, the king[1] of the Cilicians, coming to visit Cyrus, and the story was that she gave him a large sum of money; at any rate, Cyrus paid the troops at that time four months' wages. The Cilician queen was attended by a body-guard of Cilicians and Aspendians; and people said that Cyrus had intimate relations with the queen.

Thence he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to the inhabited city of Thymbrium. There, alongside the road, was the so-called spring of Midas, the king of the Phrygians, at which Midas, according to the story, caught the satyr by mixing wine with the water of the spring.[2] Thence he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to Tyriaeum, an inhabited city. There he remained three days. And the Cilician queen, as the report ran, asked Cyrus to exhibit his army to her; such an exhibition was what he desired to make, and accordingly he held a review of the Greeks and the barbarians on the plain. He ordered the Greeks to form their lines and take their positions just as they were accustomed to do for battle, each general marshalling his own men. So they formed the line four deep, Menon and his troops occupying the right wing, Clearchus and his troops the left, and the other generals the centre. Cyrus inspected the barbarians first, and they marched past with their cavalry formed in troops and their infantry in companies; then he inspected the Greeks, driving past them in

[2] This story is less familiar than its sequel, viz. that for his kindly treatment of the satyr (Silenus) Midas was granted by Dionysus the fulfilment of any request he might make; he requested that all he touched should turn to gold, and so died of hunger.

ἐφ' ἁρμαμάξης. εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾶ
καὶ χιτῶνας φοινικοῦς καὶ κνημῖδας καὶ τὰς
17 ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμμένας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντας παρή-
λασε, στήσας τὸ ἅρμα πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος μέσης,
πέμψας Πίγρητα τὸν ἑρμηνέα παρὰ τοὺς στρα-
τηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ
ὅπλα καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ
ταῦτα προεῖπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ
ἐσάλπιγξε, προβαλόμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἐπῆσαν. ἐκ
δὲ τούτου θᾶττον προϊόντων σὺν κραυγῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ
αὐτομάτου δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ
18 τὰς σκηνάς, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων φόβος πολύς, καὶ
ἥ τε Κίλισσα ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἁρμαμάξης καὶ οἱ ἐκ
τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλιπόντες τὰ ὤνια ἔφυγον. οἱ δὲ
Ἕλληνες σὺν γέλωτι ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον. ἡ δὲ
Κίλισσα ἰδοῦσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν
τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐθαύμασε. Κῦρος δὲ ἥσθη τὸν
ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἰδών.
19 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρα-
σάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἰκόνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν
ἐσχάτην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἐν-
τεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας σταθμοὺς
πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. ταύτην τὴν χώραν
ἐπέτρεψε διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὡς πολε-
20 μίαν οὖσαν. ἐντεῦθεν Κῦρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς
τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν· καὶ
συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας[1] οὓς Μένων εἶχε

[1] *στρατιώτας* MSS.: Gem. brackets.

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[1] Greek troops were not supplied with rations in the modern way, but bought their provisions from day to day

a chariot, the Cilician queen in a carriage. And the Greeks all had helmets of bronze, crimson tunics, and greaves, and carried their shields uncovered. When he had driven past them all, he halted his chariot in front of the centre of the phalanx, and sending his interpreter Pigres to the generals of the Greeks, gave orders that the troops should advance arms and the phalanx move forward in a body. The generals transmitted these orders to the soldiers, and when the trumpet sounded, they advanced arms and charged. And then, as they went on faster and faster, at length with a shout the troops broke into a run of their own accord, in the direction of the camp. As for the barbarians, they were terribly frightened; the Cilician queen took to flight in her carriage, and the people in the market[1] left their wares behind and took to their heels; while the Greeks with a roar of laughter came up to their camp. Now the Cilician queen was filled with admiration at beholding the brilliant appearance and the order of the Greek army; and Cyrus was delighted to see the terror with which the Greeks inspired the barbarians.

Thence he marched three stages, twenty parasangs, to Iconium, the last city of Phrygia. There he remained three days. Thence he marched through Lycaonia five stages, thirty parasangs. This country he gave over to the Greeks to plunder, on the ground that it was hostile territory.[2] From there Cyrus sent the Cilician queen back to Cilicia by the shortest route, and he sent some of Menon's troops to

from sutlers who accompanied the army. The commander's duty ended with "providing a market" (ἀγορὰν παρέχειν).

[2] In leaving Phrygia Cyrus was passing beyond the limits of his own satrapy. Introd. p. 232.

καὶ αὐτόν. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πρὸς Δάνα, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν ᾧ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄνδρα Πέρσην Μεγαφέρνην, φοινικιστὴν βασίλειον, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων[1] δυνάστην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ.

21 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρῶντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὁδὸς ἁμαξιτὸς ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι, εἴ τις ἐκώλυεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Συέννεσις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων φυλάττων τὴν εἰσβολήν· διὸ ἔμεινεν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἧκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι λελοιπὼς εἴη Συέννεσις τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος στράτευμα ἤδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἦν εἴσω τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε περιπλεούσας ἀπ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμὼν ἔχοντα

22 τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. Κῦρος δ' οὖν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἶδε τὰς σκηνὰς οὗ οἱ Κίλικες ἐφύλαττον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ κατέβαινεν εἰς πεδίον μέγα καὶ καλόν, ἐπίρρυτον, καὶ δένδρων παντοδαπῶν σύμπλεων καὶ ἀμπέλων· πολὺ δὲ καὶ σήσαμον καὶ μελίνην καὶ κέγχρον καὶ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς φέρει. ὄρος δ' αὐτὸ περιεῖχεν ὀχυρὸν καὶ ὑψηλὸν πάντῃ ἐκ

[1] τῶν ὑπάρχων MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Schenkl.

[1] A title of honour at the Persian court.

[2] Cyrus had asked the Lacedaemonians "to show themselves as good friends to him as he had been to them in their war against Athens" (Xen. *Hellenica*, II. i. 1). The aid

escort her, Menon himself commanding them. With the rest of the army Cyrus marched through Cappadocia four stages, twenty-five parasangs, to Dana, an inhabited city, large and prosperous. There they remained three days; and during that time Cyrus put to death a Persian named Megaphernes, who was a wearer of the royal purple,[1] and another dignitary among his subordinates, on the charge that they were plotting against him.

From there they made ready to try to enter Cilicia. Now the entrance was by a wagon-road, exceedingly steep and impracticable for an army to pass if there was anybody to oppose it; and in fact, as report ran, Syennesis was upon the heights, guarding the entrance; therefore Cyrus remained for a day in the plain. On the following day, however, a messenger came with word that Syennesis had abandoned the heights, because he had learned that Menon's army was already in Cilicia, on his own side of the mountains, and because, further, he was getting reports that triremes belonging to the Lacedaemonians[2] and to Cyrus himself were sailing around from Ionia to Cilicia under the command of Tamos. At any rate[3] Cyrus climbed the mountains without meeting any opposition, and saw the camp where the Cilicians had been keeping guard. Thence he descended to a large and beautiful plain, well-watered and full of trees of all sorts and vines; it produces an abundance of sesame, millet, panic, wheat, and barley, and it is surrounded on every side, from sea to sea, by a lofty

they now rendered (see also iv. 2–3) was in response to that request.

[3] *i.e.* whether or not the reasons just given were the true ones.

23 θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν. καταβὰς δὲ διὰ τούτου
τοῦ πεδίου ἤλασε σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας
πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν εἰς Ταρσούς, τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν
μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, οὗ ἦν τὰ Συεννέσιος
βασίλεια τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέως· διὰ μέσου δὲ
τῆς πόλεως ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Κύδνος ὄνομα, εὖρος δύο
24 πλέθρων. ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐνοι-
κοῦντες μετὰ Συεννέσιος εἰς χωρίον ὀχυρὸν ἐπὶ
τὰ ὄρη πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεῖα ἔχοντες· ἔμειναν δὲ
καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες ἐν Σόλοις
καὶ ἐν Ἰσσοῖς.
25 Ἐπύαξα δὲ ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνὴ προτέρα Κύρου
πέντε ἡμέραις εἰς Ταρσοὺς ἀφίκετο· ἐν δὲ τῇ
ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ὀρῶν τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον δύο λόχοι
τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος ἀπώλοντο· οἱ μὲν
ἔφασαν ἁρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν
Κιλίκων, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντας καὶ οὐ δυναμένους
εὑρεῖν τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς εἶτα
πλανωμένους ἀπολέσθαι· ἦσαν δ' οὖν οὗτοι
26 ἑκατὸν ὁπλῖται. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπεὶ ἧκον, τήν τε
πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς διήρπασαν, διὰ τὸν ὄλεθρον
τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ὀργιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια
τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κῦρος δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσήλασεν εἰς τὴν
πόλιν, μετεπέμπετο τὸν Συέννεσιν πρὸς ἑαυτόν·
ὁ δ' οὔτε πρότερον οὐδενί πω κρείττονι ἑαυτοῦ εἰς
χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἔφη οὔτε τότε Κύρῳ ἰέναι ἤθελε,
πρὶν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε καὶ πίστεις ἔλαβε.
27 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Συέν-
νεσις μὲν ἔδωκε Κύρῳ χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν

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[1] The birth-place of the apostle Paul.
[2] Famous as the scene of one of the most important victories of Alexander the Great (333 B.C.).

and formidable range of mountains. After descending he marched through this plain four stages, twenty-five parasangs, to Tarsus,[1] a large and prosperous city of Cilicia, where the palace of Syennesis, the king of the Cilicians, was situated; and through the middle of the city flows a river named the Cydnus, two plethra in width. The inhabitants of this city had abandoned it and fled, with Syennesis, to a stronghold upon the mountains—all of them, at least, except the tavern-keepers; and there remained also those who dwelt on the sea-coast, in Soli and Issus.[2]

Now Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, had reached Tarsus five days ahead of Cyrus, but in the course of her passage over the mountains to the plain two companies of Menon's army [3] had been lost. Some said that they had been cut to pieces by the Cilicians while engaged in a bit of plundering; another story was that they had been left behind, and, unable to find the rest of the army or the roads, had thus wandered about and perished; at any rate, they numbered a hundred hoplites. And when the rest of Menon's troops reached Tarsus, in their anger over the loss of their comrades they plundered thoroughly, not only the city, but also the palace that was in it. As for Cyrus, after he had marched into the city he more than once summoned Syennesis to his presence; but Syennesis said that he had never yet put himself in the hands of anyone who was more powerful than he was, and he would not now put himself in the hands of Cyrus until his wife had won him over and he had received pledges. When the two men finally met one another, Syennesis gave Cyrus a large sum of money for his army, while

[3] *cp.* § 20, above.

στρατιάν, Κῦρος δὲ ἐκείνῳ δῶρα ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμια, ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια καὶ ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν καὶ στολὴν Περσικήν, καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι διαρπάζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἡρπασμένα ἀνδράποδα, ἤν που ἐντυγχάνωσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν.

III. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡμέρας εἴκοσιν· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι τοῦ πρόσω· ὑπώπτευον γὰρ ἤδη ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἰέναι· μισθωθῆναι δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔφασαν. πρῶτος δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς αὑτοῦ στρατιώτας ἐβιάζετο ἰέναι· οἱ δ' αὐτόν τε ἔβαλλον καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια τὰ ἐκείνου, ἐπεὶ ἄρξαιντο προϊέναι.
2 Κλέαρχος δὲ τότε μὲν μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι, ὕστερον δ' ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται βιάσασθαι, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν αὑτοῦ στρατιωτῶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδάκρυε πολὺν χρόνον ἑστώς· οἱ δὲ ὁρῶντες ἐθαύμαζον καὶ ἐσιώπων· εἶτα δὲ ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

3 Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μὴ θαυμάζετε ὅτι χαλεπῶς φέρω τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ξένος Κῦρος ἐγένετο καί με φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τά τε ἄλλα ἐτίμησε καὶ μυρίους ἔδωκε δαρεικούς· οὓς ἐγὼ λαβὼν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἐμοὶ οὐδὲ καθηδυπάθησα, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐδαπάνων.
4 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἐπολέμησα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐτιμωρούμην μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῆς Χερρονήσου αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύνων βουλομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας

Cyrus gave him gifts which are regarded at court[1] as tokens of honour—a horse with a gold-mounted bridle, a gold necklace and bracelets, a gold dagger and a Persian robe – promising him, further, that his land should not be plundered any more and that they might take back the slaves that had been seized in case they should chance upon them anywhere.

III. Cyrus and his army remained here at Tarsus twenty days, for the soldiers refused to go any farther; for they suspected by this time that they were going against the King, and they said they had not been hired for that. Clearchus was the first to try to force his men to go on, but they pelted him and his pack-animals with stones as often as they began to go forward. At that time Clearchus narrowly escaped being stoned to death; but afterwards, when he realized that he could not accomplish anything by force, he called a meeting of his own troops. And first he stood and wept for a long time, while his men watched him in wonder and were silent; then he spoke as follows:

"Fellow-soldiers, do not wonder that I am distressed at the present situation. For Cyrus became my friend and not only honoured me, an exile from my fatherland, in various ways, but gave me ten thousand darics. And I, receiving this money, did not lay it up for my own personal use or squander it in pleasure, but I proceeded to expend it on you. First I went to war with the Thracians, and for the sake of Greece I inflicted punishment upon them with your aid, driving them out of the Chersonese when they wanted to deprive the Greeks who dwelt

[1] *i.e.* such gifts as could be bestowed only by the Persian king. Cyrus is already assuming royal prerogatives.

τὴν γῆν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκάλει, λαβὼν ὑμᾶς
ἐπορευόμην, ἵνα εἴ τι δέοιτο ὠφελοίην αὐτὸν ἀνθ'
5 ὧν εὖ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ
βούλεσθε συμπορεύεσθαι, ἀνάγκη δή μοι ἢ ὑμᾶς
προδόντα τῇ Κύρου φιλίᾳ χρῆσθαι ἢ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον
ψευσάμενον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶναι. εἰ μὲν δὴ δίκαια
ποιήσω οὐκ οἶδα, αἱρήσομαι δ' οὖν ὑμᾶς καὶ σὺν
ὑμῖν ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ πείσομαι. καὶ οὔποτε ἐρεῖ
οὐδεὶς ὡς ἐγὼ Ἕλληνας ἀγαγὼν εἰς τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους, προδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὴν τῶν βαρ-
6 βάρων φιλίαν εἱλόμην, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ οὐ
θέλετε πείθεσθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν ἕψομαι· καὶ ὅ τι
ἂν δέῃ πείσομαι. νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ εἶναι καὶ
πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν
μὲν ἂν οἶμαι εἶναι τίμιος ὅπου ἂν ὦ, ὑμῶν δὲ
ἔρημος ὢν οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς οἶμαι εἶναι οὔτ' ἂν φίλον
ὠφελῆσαι οὔτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι. ὡς ἐμοῦ
οὖν ἰόντος ὅπῃ ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω τὴν γνώμην
ἔχετε.
7 Ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἵ τε αὐτοῦ
ἐκείνου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ὅτι οὐ
φαίη παρὰ βασιλέα πορεύεσθαι ἐπῄνεσαν· παρὰ
δὲ Ξενίου καὶ Πασίωνος πλείους ἢ δισχίλιοι
λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐστρατο-
8 πεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ. Κῦρος δὲ τούτοις
ἀπορῶν τε καὶ λυπούμενος μετεπέμπετο τὸν
Κλέαρχον· ὁ δὲ ἰέναι μὲν οὐκ ἤθελε, λάθρᾳ δὲ
τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἄγγελον ἔλεγε
θαρρεῖν ὡς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον.
μεταπέμπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ
ἔφη ἰέναι.

there of their land. Then when Cyrus' summons came, I took you with me and set out, in order that, if he had need of me, I might give him aid in return for the benefits I had received from him. But you now do not wish to continue the march with me; so it seems that I must either desert you and continue to enjoy Cyrus' friendship, or prove false to him and remain with you. Whether I shall be doing what is right, I know not, but at any rate I shall choose you and with you shall suffer whatever I must. And never shall any man say that I, after leading Greeks into the land of the barbarians, betrayed the Greeks and chose the friendship of the barbarians; nay, since you do not care to obey me, I shall follow with you and suffer whatever I must. For I consider that you are to me both fatherland and friends and allies; with you I think I shall be honoured wherever I may be, bereft of you I do not think I shall be able either to aid a friend or to ward off a foe. Be sure, therefore, that wherever you go, I shall go also."

Such were his words. And the soldiers—not only his own men, but the rest also—when they heard that he said he would not go on to the King's capital, commended him; and more than two thousand of the troops under Xenias and Pasion took their arms and their baggage train and encamped with Clearchus. But Cyrus, perplexed and distressed by this situation, sent repeatedly for Clearchus. Clearchus refused to go to him, but without the knowledge of the soldiers he sent a messenger and told him not to be discouraged, because, he said, this matter would be settled in the right way. He directed Cyrus, however, to keep on sending for him, though he himself, he said, would refuse to go.

9 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν τούς θ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε. Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν δὴ Κύρου δῆλον ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐκείνου ἔτι στρατιῶται, ἐπεί γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἔτι ἡμῖν μισθοδότης. ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζει ὑφ' ἡμῶν
10 οἶδα· ὥστε καὶ μεταπεμπομένου αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐθέλω ἐλθεῖν, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον αἰσχυνόμενος ὅτι σύνοιδα ἐμαυτῷ πάντα ἐψευσμένος αὐτόν, ἔπειτα καὶ δεδιὼς μὴ λαβών με δίκην ἐπιθῇ ὧν νομίζει
11 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἠδικῆσθαι. ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι ἡμῖν καθεύδειν οὐδ' ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλεύεσθαι ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐκ τούτων. καὶ ἕως γε μένομεν αὐτοῦ σκεπτέον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὅπως[1] ἀσφαλέστατα μένωμεν,[2] εἴ τε ἤδη δοκεῖ ἀπιέναι, ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ἄπιμεν, καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἕξομεν· ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων οὔτε
12 στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ἰδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέν. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος ᾧ ἂν φίλος ᾖ, χαλεπώτατος δ' ἐχθρὸς ᾧ ἂν πολέμιος ᾖ, ἔχει δὲ δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ἱππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν ἣν πάντες ὁμοίως ὁρῶμέν τε καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω δοκοῦμέν μοι αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι. ὥστε ὥρα λέγειν ὅ τι τις γιγνώσκει ἄριστον εἶναι. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο.

13 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀνίσταντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, λέξοντες ἃ ἐγίγνωσκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ'

[1] After ὅπως, in this line and the next, Gem. inserts ὡς, following Cobet.

[2] μένωμεν MSS., Gem.: μενοῦμεν Mar., following Buttmann.

After this Clearchus gathered together his own soldiers, those who had come over to him, and any others who wanted to be present, and spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, it is clear that the relation of Cyrus to us is precisely the same as ours to him; that is, we are no longer his soldiers, since we decline to follow him, and likewise he is no longer our paymaster. I know, however, that he considers himself wronged by us. Therefore, although he keeps sending for me, I decline to go, chiefly, it is true, from a feeling of shame, because I am conscious that I have proved utterly false to him, but, besides that, from fear that he may seize me and inflict punishment upon me for the wrongs he thinks he has suffered at my hands. In my opinion, therefore, it is no time for us to be sleeping or unconcerned about ourselves; we should rather be considering what course we ought to follow under the present circumstances. And so long as we remain here we must consider, I think, how we can remain most safely; or, again, if we count it best to depart at once, how we are to depart most safely and how we shall secure provisions—for without provisions neither general nor private is of any use. And remember that while this Cyrus is a valuable friend when he is your friend, he is a most dangerous foe when he is your enemy; furthermore, he has an armament—infantry and cavalry and fleet—which we all alike see and know about; for I take it that our camp is not very far away from him. It is time, then, to propose whatever plan any one of you deems best." With these words he ceased speaking.

Thereupon various speakers arose, some of their own accord to express the opinions they held, but

ἐκείνου ἐγκέλευστοι, ἐπιδεικνύντες οἵα εἴη ἡ ἀπορία ἄνευ τῆς Κύρου γνώμης καὶ μένειν καὶ
14 ἀπιέναι. εἷς δὲ δὴ εἶπε προσποιούμενος σπεύδειν ὡς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατηγοὺς μὲν ἑλέσθαι ἄλλους ὡς τάχιστα, εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέαρχος ἀπάγειν· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδει' ἀγοράζεσθαι—ἡ δ' ἀγορὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι—καὶ συσκευάζεσθαι· ἐλθόντας δὲ Κῦρον αἰτεῖν πλοῖα, ὡς ἀποπλέοιεν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διδῷ ταῦτα, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν Κῦρον ὅστις διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἀπάξει· ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲ ἡγεμόνα διδῷ, συντάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληψομένους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι μήτε Κῦρος μήτε οἱ Κίλικες καταλαβόντες, ὧν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνηρπακότες. οὗτος μὲν τοιαῦτα εἶπε.

15 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσοῦτον· Ὡς μὲν στρατηγήσοντα ἐμὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδεὶς ὑμῶν λεγέτω· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνορῶ δι' ἃ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ ποιητέον· ὡς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὃν ἂν ἕλησθε πείσομαι ᾗ δυνατὸν μάλιστα, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα
16 ἀνθρώπων. μετὰ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ἐπιδεικνὺς μὲν τὴν εὐήθειαν τοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος, ὥσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον Κύρου ποιουμένου, ἐπιδεικνὺς δὲ ὡς εὔηθες εἴη ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου ᾧ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι πιστεύσομεν ὃν ἂν Κῦρος

others at the instigation of Clearchus to make clear the difficulty of either remaining or departing without the consent of Cyrus. One man in particular, pretending to be in a hurry to proceed back to Greece with all speed, proposed that they should choose other generals as quickly as possible, in case Clearchus did not wish to lead them back; secondly, that they should buy provisions—the market was in the barbarian army!—and pack up their baggage; then, to go to Cyrus and ask for vessels to sail away in; and if he would not give them vessels, to ask him for a guide to lead them homeward through a country that was friendly; and if he would not give them a guide, either, to form in line of battle with all speed and likewise to send a force to occupy the mountain heights in advance, in order that neither Cyrus nor the Cilicians should forestall them—"and we have in our possession," he said, "many of these Cilicians and much of their property that we have seized as plunder." Such were the words of this speaker.

After him Clearchus said merely this: "Let no one among you speak of me as the man who is to hold this command, for I see many reasons why I should not do so; say rather that I shall obey to the best of my ability the man whom you choose, in order that you may know that I understand as well as any other person in the world how to be a subordinate also." After he had spoken another man arose to point out the foolishness of the speaker who had urged them to ask for vessels, just as if Cyrus were going home again, and to point out also how foolish it was to ask for a guide "from this man whose enterprise we are ruining. Indeed, if we propose to trust the guide that Cyrus gives us, what is to hinder us from

διδῷ, τί κωλύει καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν κελεύειν Κῦρον
17 προκαταλαβεῖν; ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀκνοίην μὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ
πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν ἃ ἡμῖν δοίη, μὴ ἡμᾶς ταῖς
τριήρεσι καταδύσῃ, φοβοίμην δ' ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι
ὃν δοίη ἕπεσθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ ὅθεν οὐκ ἔσται
ἐξελθεῖν· βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ἄκοντος ἀπιὼν Κύρου
λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθών· ὃ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν.
18 ἀλλ' ἐγώ φημι ταῦτα μὲν φλυαρίας εἶναι· δοκεῖ
δέ μοι ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας πρὸς Κῦρον οἵτινες
ἐπιτήδειοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἐρωτᾶν ἐκεῖνον τί βού-
λεται ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἡ πρᾶξις ᾖ
παραπλησία οἵαπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐχρῆτο τοῖς
ξένοις, ἕπεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ μὴ κακίους εἶναι
19 τῶν πρόσθεν τούτῳ συναναβάντων· ἐὰν δὲ μείζων
ἡ πρᾶξις τῆς πρόσθεν φαίνηται καὶ ἐπιπονωτέρα
καὶ ἐπικινδυνοτέρα, ἀξιοῦν ἢ πείσαντα ἡμᾶς
ἄγειν ἢ πεισθέντα πρὸς φιλίαν ἀφιέναι· οὕτω
γὰρ καὶ ἑπόμενοι ἂν φίλοι αὐτῷ καὶ πρόθυμοι
ἑποίμεθα καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἀπίοιμεν·
ὅ τι δ' ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγῃ ἀπαγγεῖλαι δεῦρο·
ἡμᾶς δ' ἀκούσαντας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύεσθαι.
20 Ἔδοξε ταῦτα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἑλόμενοι σὺν Κλε-
άρχῳ πέμπουσιν οἳ ἠρώτων Κῦρον τὰ δόξαντα
τῇ στρατιᾷ. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι ἀκούει Ἀβρο-
κόμαν ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ
εἶναι, ἀπέχοντα δώδεκα σταθμούς· πρὸς τοῦτον

[1] As described in i. 2.
[2] *i.e.* in the form of extra pay.

directing Cyrus also to occupy the heights for us in advance? For my part, I should hesitate to embark on the vessels that he might give us, for fear of his sinking us with his war-ships, and I should be afraid to follow the guide that he might give, for fear of his leading us to a place from which it will not be possible to escape; my choice would be, in going off without Cyrus' consent, to go off without his knowledge—and that is not possible. Now in my own opinion the plans just proposed are nonsense; rather, I think we should send to Cyrus men of the proper sort, along with Clearchus, to ask him what use he wishes to make of us; and if his enterprise is like the sort of one in which he employed mercenaries before,[1] I think that we also should follow him and not be more cowardly than those who went up with him on the former occasion; if, however, his enterprise is found to be greater and more laborious and more dangerous than the former one, we ought to demand that he should either offer sufficient persuasion[2] and lead us on with him, or yield to our persuasion and let us go home in friendship; for in this way, if we should follow him, we should follow as friends and zealous supporters, and if we should go back, we should go back in safety. I propose, further, that our representatives should report back to us whatever reply he may make, and that we after hearing it should deliberate about the matter."

This plan was adopted, and they chose representatives and sent them with Clearchus; and they proceeded to put to Cyrus the questions resolved upon by the army. He replied that he had heard that Abrocomas, a foe of his, was at the Euphrates river, twelve stages distant. It was against him, therefore, he

οὖν ἔφη βούλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν· κἂν μὲν ᾖ ἐκεῖ, τὴν
δίκην ἔφη χρῄζειν ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτῷ, ἢν δὲ φύγῃ,
21 ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσόμεθα. ἀκούσαντες
δὲ ταῦτα οἱ αἱρετοὶ ἀγγέλλουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις·
τοῖς δὲ ὑποψία μὲν ἦν ὅτι ἄγει πρὸς βασιλέα,
ὅμως δὲ ἐδόκει ἕπεσθαι. προσαιτοῦσι δὲ μισθόν·
ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὑπισχνεῖται ἡμιόλιον πᾶσι δώσειν
οὗ πρότερον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδα-
ρεικὰ τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ· ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ βα-
σιλέα ἄγοι οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἤκουσεν οὐδεὶς ἐν τῷ γε
φανερῷ.

IV. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρα-
σάγγας δέκα ἐπὶ τὸν Ψάρον ποταμόν, οὗ ἦν τὸ
εὖρος τρία πλέθρα. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν
ἕνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμόν,
οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος στάδιον. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθ-
μοὺς δύο παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς Ἰσσούς,
τῆς Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ
2 οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα
ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρῳ παρῆσαν αἱ ἐκ
Πελοποννήσου νῆες τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐπ'
αὐταῖς ναύαρχος Πυθαγόρας Λακεδαιμόνιος.
ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐταῖς Ταμὼς Αἰγύπτιος ἐξ Ἐφέσου,
ἔχων ναῦς ἑτέρας Κύρου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, αἷς
ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον ὅτε Τισσαφέρνει φίλη ἦν,
3 καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρῳ πρὸς αὐτόν.[1] παρῆν δὲ καὶ
Χειρίσοφος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, μετά-

[1] ὅτε . . . αὐτόν: condemned by Cobet, whom many edd. follow.

said, that he desired to march. And if he were there, he wished to inflict due punishment upon him; "but if he has fled," he continued, "we will deliberate about the matter then and there." Upon hearing this reply the deputies reported it to the soldiers, and they, while suspecting that Cyrus was leading them against the King, nevertheless thought it best to follow him. They asked, however, for more pay, and Cyrus promised to give them all half as much again as they had been receiving before, namely, a daric and a half a month to each man instead of a daric; but as regards the suspicion that he was leading them against the King, no one heard it expressed even then—at any rate, not openly.

IV. Thence he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to the Psarus river, the width of which was three plethra. From there he marched one stage, five parasangs, to the Pyramus river, the width of which was a stadium.[1] From there he marched two stages, fifteen parasangs, to Issus, the last city in Cilicia, a place situated on the sea, and large and prosperous. There they remained three days; and the ships from Peloponnesus[2] arrived to meet Cyrus, thirty-five in number, with Pythagoras the Lacedaemonian as admiral in command of them. They had been guided from Ephesus to Issus by Tamos the Egyptian, who was at the head of another fleet of twenty-five ships belonging to Cyrus—these latter being the ships with which Tamos had besieged Miletus, at the time when it was friendly to Tissaphernes,[3] and had supported Cyrus in his war upon Tissaphernes. Cheirisophus the Lacedaemonian also arrived with this fleet, coming in response to Cyrus'

[1] The stadium = 582¼ English feet.
[2] See ii. 21. [3] See i. 7.

πεμπτος ὑπὸ Κύρου, ἑπτακοσίους ἔχων ὁπλίτας, ὧν ἐστρατήγει παρὰ Κύρῳ. αἱ δὲ νῆες ὥρμουν παρὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀβροκόμα μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἀποστάντες ἦλθον παρὰ Κῦρον τετρακόσιοι ὁπλῖται καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα.

4 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τείχη, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας Συέννεσις εἶχε καὶ Κιλίκων φυλακή, τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν. διὰ μέσου δὲ ῥεῖ τούτων ποταμὸς Κάρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρου. ἅπαν δὲ τὸ μέσον τῶν τειχῶν ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βίᾳ· ἦν γὰρ ἡ πάροδος στενὴ καὶ τὰ τείχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, ὕπερθεν δ' ἦσαν πέτραι ἠλίβατοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τείχεσιν
5 ἀμφοτέροις ἐφειστήκεσαν πύργοι.[1] ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς παρόδου Κῦρος τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ὁπλίτας ἀποβιβάσειεν εἴσω καὶ[2] ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν καὶ βιασόμενος[3] τοὺς πολεμίους εἰ φυλάττοιεν ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις πύλαις, ὅπερ ᾤετο ποιήσειν ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Ἀβροκόμαν, ἔχοντα πολὺ στράτευμα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ οὐ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Κῦρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας ἐκ

[1] πύργοι Gem., following Hartman: πύλαι MSS.
[2] εἴσω καὶ MSS.: Gem. brackets.
[3] καὶ βιασόμενος Mar.: βιασομένους Gem., following Schenkl: καὶ βιασάμενος (or βιασάμενοι) MSS.: βιασόμενος Dindorf.

summons,[1] together with seven hundred hoplites, over whom he continued to hold command in the army of Cyrus. And the ships lay at anchor alongside Cyrus' tent. It was at Issus also that the Greek mercenaries who had been in the service of Abrocomas—four hundred hoplites—joined Cyrus, after deserting Abrocomas, and so bore a share in his expedition against the King.

Thence he marched one stage, five parasangs, to the Gates between Cilicia and Syria. These Gates consisted of two walls; the one on the hither, or Cilician, side was held by Syennesis and a garrison of Cilicians, while the one on the farther, the Syrian, side was reported to be guarded by a garrison of the King's troops. And in the space between these walls flows a river named the Carsus, a plethrum in width. The entire distance from one wall to the other was three stadia; and it was not possible to effect a passage by force, for the pass was narrow, the walls reached down to the sea, and above the pass were precipitous rocks, while, besides, there were towers upon both the walls. It was because of this pass that Cyrus had sent for the fleet, in order that he might disembark hoplites between and beyond the walls and thus overpower the enemy if they should be keeping guard at the Syrian Gates—and that was precisely what Cyrus supposed Abrocomas would do, for he had a large army. Abrocomas, however, did not do so, but as soon as he heard that Cyrus was in Cilicia, he turned about in his journey from

[1] See note on ii. 21. These seven hundred hoplites under Cheirisophus had been sent by the Lacedaemonian authorities to aid Cyrus, and were the only troops in his army which stood in any official connection with any Greek state.

Φοινίκης παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήλαυνεν, ἔχων, ὡς ἐλέγετο, τριάκοντα μυριάδας στρατιᾶς.

6 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ Συρίας σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας πέντε εἰς Μυρίανδον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ· ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὥρμουν αὐτόθι ὁλκάδες
7 πολλαί. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτά· καὶ Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς καὶ Πασίων ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐνθέμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν, ὡς μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκουν φιλοτιμηθέντες ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν τοὺς παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας ὡς ἀπιόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλέα εἴα Κῦρος τὸν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἀφανεῖς, διῆλθε λόγος ὅτι διώκοι αὐτοὺς Κῦρος τριήρεσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν ηὔχοντο ὡς δειλοὺς ὄντας αὐτοὺς ληφθῆναι, οἱ δ' ᾤκτιρον εἰ ἁλώσοιντο.

8 Κῦρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἶπεν· Ἀπολελοίπασιν ἡμᾶς Ξενίας καὶ Πασίων. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπιστάσθων ὅτι οὔτε ἀποδεδράκασιν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅπῃ οἴχονται· οὔτε ἀποπεφεύγασιν· ἔχω γὰρ τριήρεις ὥστε ἑλεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων πλοῖον· ἀλλὰ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἔγωγε αὐτοὺς διώξω, οὐδ' ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς ὡς ἐγὼ ἕως μὲν ἂν παρῇ τις χρῶμαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀπιέναι βούληται, συλλαβὼν καὶ αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποσυλῶ. ἀλλὰ ἴτωσαν,[1] εἰδότες ὅτι κακίους εἰσὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς

[1] ἴτωσαν Mar., following Bornemann: ἰέτωσαν MSS.: ἴτων Gem.

Phoenicia[1] and marched off to join the King, with an army, so the report ran, of three hundred thousand men.

Thence Cyrus marched one stage, five parasangs, to Myriandus, a city on the sea-coast, inhabited by Phoenicians; it was a trading place, and many merchant ships were lying at anchor there. There he remained seven days; and Xenias the Arcadian and Pasion the Megarian embarked upon a ship, put on board their most valuable effects, and sailed away; they were moved to do this, as most people thought, by a feeling of jealous pride, because their soldiers had gone over to Clearchus[2] with the intention of going back to Greece again instead of proceeding against the King, and Cyrus had allowed Clearchus to keep them. After they had disappeared, a report went round that Cyrus was pursuing them with warships; and while some people prayed that they might be captured, because, as they said, they were cowards, yet others felt pity for them if they should be caught.

Cyrus, however, called the generals together and said: "Xenias and Pasion have deserted us. But let them, nevertheless, know full well that they have not escaped from me—either by stealth, for I know in what direction they have gone, or by speed, for I have men-of-war with which I can overtake their craft. But for my part, I swear by the gods that I shall not pursue them, nor shall anyone say about me that I use a man so long as he is with me and then, when he wants to leave me, seize him and maltreat him and despoil him of his possessions. Nay, let them go, with the knowledge that their behaviour toward

[1] Of which Abrocomas was satrap. [2] See iii. 7.

ἢ ἡμεῖς περὶ ἐκείνους. καίτοι ἔχω γε αὐτῶν καὶ
τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν Τράλλεσι φρουρούμενα·
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσονται, ἀλλ' ἀπολήψον-
9 ται τῆς πρόσθεν ἕνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς. καὶ ὁ
μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εἴ τις καὶ ἀθυ-
μότερος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ἀκούοντες τὴν
Κύρου ἀρετὴν ἥδιον καὶ προθυμότερον συνε-
πορεύοντο.

Μετὰ ταῦτα Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τέττα-
ρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμόν,
ὄντα τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου, πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων
καὶ πραέων, οὓς οἱ Σύροι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον καὶ
ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἴων, οὐδὲ τὰς περιστεράς.[1] αἱ δὲ
κῶμαι ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν εἰς
10 ζώνην δεδομέναι. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς
πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ
Δάρδατος ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου. ἐν-
ταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέσυος βασίλεια τοῦ Συρίας
ἄρξαντος, καὶ παράδεισος πάνυ μέγας καὶ καλός,
ἔχων πάντα ὅσα ὧραι φύουσι. Κῦρος δ' αὐτὸν
11 ἐξέκοψε καὶ τὰ βασίλεια κατέκαυσεν. ἐντεῦθεν
ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντε-
καίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, ὄντα τὸ
εὖρος τεττάρων σταδίων· καὶ πόλις αὐτόθι
ᾠκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων Θάψακος ὄνομα.
ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε. καὶ Κῦρος μετα-
πεμψάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο πρὸς βασιλέα μέγαν εἰς
Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ κελεύει αὐτοὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς

[1] οὐδὲ . . . περιστεράς MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Bisschop.

us is worse than ours toward them. To be sure, I have their wives and children under guard in Tralles,[1] but I shall not deprive them of these, either, for they shall receive them back because of their former excellence in my service." Such were his words; as for the Greeks, even those who had been somewhat despondent in regard to the upward march, when they heard of the magnanimity of Cyrus they continued on their way with greater satisfaction and eagerness.

After this Cyrus marched four stages, twenty parasangs, to the Chalus river, which is a plethrum in width and full of large, tame fish; these fish the Syrians regarded as gods, and they would not allow anyone to harm them, or the doves, either.[2] And the villages in which the troops encamped belonged to Parysatis, for they had been given her for girdle-money.[3] From there Cyrus marched five stages, thirty parasangs, to the sources of the Dardas river, the width of which is a plethrum. There was the palace of Belesys, the late ruler of Syria, and a very large and beautiful park containing all the products of the seasons. But Cyrus cut down the park and burned the palace. Thence he marched three stages, fifteen parasangs, to the Euphrates river, the width of which was four stadia; and on the river was situated a large and prosperous city named Thapsacus. There he remained five days. And Cyrus summoned the generals of the Greeks and told them that the march was to be to Babylon, against the Great King; he directed them, accordingly, to explain this to the

[1] A city in Caria.
[2] According to the legend, the Syrian goddess Derceto had been transformed into a fish, and her daughter, Semiramis, into a dove.
[3] *cp.* the English "pin-money."

12 στρατιώταις καὶ ἀναπείθειν ἕπεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ποιή-
σαντες ἐκκλησίαν ἀπήγγελλον ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ
στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ
ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότας κρύπτειν, καὶ
οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι, ἐὰν μή τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα
διδῷ, ὥσπερ τοῖς προτέροις μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβᾶσι
παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κύρου,[1] καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ
μάχην ἰόντων, ἀλλὰ καλοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς Κῦρον.
13 ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ Κύρῳ ἀπήγγελλον· ὁ δ'
ὑπέσχετο ἀνδρὶ ἑκάστῳ δώσειν πέντε ἀργυρίου
μνᾶς, ἐπὰν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἥκωσι, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν
ἐντελῆ μέχρι ἂν καταστήσῃ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς
Ἰωνίαν πάλιν. τὸ μὲν δὴ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ
οὕτως ἐπείσθη.

Μένων δὲ πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ
ἄλλοι στρατιῶται, πότερον ἕψονται Κύρῳ ἢ οὔ,
συνέλεξε τὸ αὑτοῦ στράτευμα χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων
14 καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε. Ἄνδρες, ἐάν μοι πεισθῆτε, οὔτε
κινδυνεύσαντες οὔτε πονήσαντες τῶν ἄλλων
πλέον προτιμήσεσθε στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου.
τί οὖν κελεύω ποιῆσαι; νῦν δεῖται Κῦρος ἕπεσθαι
τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ βασιλέα· ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ὑμᾶς
χρῆναι διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν πρὶν
δῆλον εἶναι ὅ τι οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἀποκρινοῦνται
15 Κύρῳ. ἢν μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσωνται ἕπεσθαι, ὑμεῖς

[1] παρὰ . . . Κύρου MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Cobet.

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[1] The troops are not now asking for additional pay, as at Tarsus (iii. 21), but for a special donation. See below.

[2] See i. 2.

[3] The Attic mina was equivalent (but see note on i. 9) to

soldiers and try to persuade them to follow. So the generals called an assembly and made this announcement; and the soldiers were angry with the generals, and said that they had known about this for a long time, but had been keeping it from the troops; furthermore, they refused to go on unless they were given money,[1] as were the men who made the journey with Cyrus before,[2] when he went to visit his father; they had received the donation, even though they marched, not to battle, but merely because Cyrus' father summoned him. All these things the generals reported back to Cyrus, and he promised that he would give every man five minas[3] in silver when they reached Babylon and their pay in full until he brought the Greeks back to Ionia again.[4] By these promises the greater part of the Greek army was persuaded.

But as for Menon, before it was clear what the rest of the soldiers would do, that is, whether they would follow Cyrus or not, he gathered together his own troops apart from the others and spoke as follows: "Soldiers, if you will obey me, you will, without either danger or toil, be honoured by Cyrus above and beyond the rest of the troops. What, then, do I direct you to do? At this moment Cyrus is begging the Greeks to follow him against the King; my own plan, then, is that you should cross the Euphrates river before it is clear what answer the rest of the Greeks will make to Cyrus. For if they vote to follow him, it is you who

about £3 15*s.* or $18.00; Cyrus probably means here the Persian mina, which was worth about one-fourth more than the Attic.

[4] Mercenaries were usually expected to make their own way home after a campaign had ended and did not receive pay for the time consumed by the homeward journey.

δόξετε αἴτιοι εἶναι ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν, καὶ
ὡς προθυμοτάτοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν χάριν εἴσεται Κῦρος
καὶ ἀποδώσει· ἐπίσταται δ' εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος· ἢν
δὲ ἀποψηφίσωνται οἱ ἄλλοι, ἄπιμεν μὲν ἅπαντες
τοὔμπαλιν, ὑμῖν δὲ ὡς μόνοις πειθομένοις [1]
χρήσεται καὶ εἰς φρούρια [2] καὶ εἰς λοχαγίας, καὶ
ἄλλου οὗτινος ἂν δέησθε οἶδα ὅτι ὡς φίλοι [3]
16 τεύξεσθε Κύρου. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπείθοντο
καὶ διέβησαν πρὶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποκρίνασθαι.
Κῦρος δ' ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο διαβεβηκότας, ἥσθη τε καὶ
τῷ στρατεύματι πέμψας Γλοῦν εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ μέν,
ὦ ἄνδρες, ἤδη ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς
ἐμὲ ἐπαινέσετε ἐμοὶ μελήσει, ἢ μηκέτι με Κῦρον
17 νομίζετε. οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατιῶται ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγά-
λαις ὄντες ηὔχοντο αὐτὸν εὐτυχῆσαι, Μένωνι δὲ
καὶ δῶρα ἐλέγετο πέμψαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς. ταῦτα
δὲ ποιήσας διέβαινε· συνείπετο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο
στράτευμα αὐτῷ ἅπαν. καὶ τῶν διαβαινόντων
τὸν ποταμὸν οὐδεὶς ἐβρέχθη ἀνωτέρω τῶν μαστῶν
18 ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. οἱ δὲ Θαψακηνοὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι
οὐπώποθ' οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς γένοιτο πεζῇ
εἰ μὴ τότε, ἀλλὰ πλοίοις, ἃ τότε Ἀβροκόμας
προϊὼν κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα μὴ Κῦρος διαβῇ. ἐδόκει
δὴ θεῖον εἶναι καὶ σαφῶς [4] ὑποχωρῆσαι τὸν
ποταμὸν Κύρῳ ὡς βασιλεύσοντι.
19 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Συρίας σταθμοὺς
ἐννέα παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται

[1] After πειθομένοις the MSS. have πιστοτάτοις: Gem. brackets.

[2] φρούρια MSS., Mar.: φρουραρχίας Gem., following Böhme.

[3] φίλοι MSS.: φίλου Gem., following Bisschop.

[4] καὶ σαφῶς MSS.: σαφῶς καὶ Gem., following Hartman.

will get the credit for that decision because you began the crossing, and Cyrus will not only feel grateful to you, regarding you as the most zealous in his cause, but he will return the favour—and he knows how to do that if any man does; on the other hand, if the rest vote not to follow him, we shall all go back together, but you, as the only ones who were obedient, are the men he will employ, not only for garrison duty,[1] but for captaincies; and whatever else you may desire, I know that you, as friends of Cyrus, will secure from him." Upon hearing these words the soldiers were persuaded, and made the crossing before the rest gave their answer. When Cyrus learned that they had crossed, he was delighted and sent Glus to the troops with this message: "Soldiers, to-day I commend you; but I shall see to it that you also shall have cause to commend me, else count me no longer Cyrus." So Menon's troops cherished high hopes and prayed that he might be successful, while to Menon himself Cyrus was said to have sent magnificent gifts besides. After so doing Cyrus proceeded to cross the river, and the rest of the army followed him, to the last man. And in the crossing no one was wetted above the breast by the water. The people of Thapsacus said that this river had never been passable on foot except at this time, but only by boats; and these Abrocomas had now burned, as he marched on ahead of Cyrus, in order to prevent him from crossing. It seemed, accordingly, that here was a divine intervention, and that the river had plainly retired before Cyrus because he was destined to be king.

Thence he marched through Syria nine stages, fifty parasangs, and they arrived at the Araxes river.

[1] *i.e.* easy service.

πρὸς τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμόν. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν κῶμαι πολλαὶ μεσταὶ σίτου καὶ οἴνου. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο.

V. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδίον ἅπαν ὁμαλὲς ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀψινθίου δὲ πλῆρες· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνῆν ὕλης ἢ καλάμου, ἅπαντα
2 ἦσαν εὐώδη ὥσπερ ἀρώματα· δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνῆν, θηρία δὲ παντοῖα, πλεῖστοι ὄνοι ἄγριοι, πολλαὶ δὲ στρουθοὶ αἱ μεγάλαι· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ὠτίδες καὶ δορκάδες. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ θηρία οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐνίοτε ἐδίωκον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἐπεί τις διώκοι, προδραμόντες ἕστασαν· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ἵππων ἔτρεχον θᾶττον· καὶ πάλιν, ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοιεν οἱ ἵπποι, ταὐτὸν ἐποίουν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διαστάντες οἱ ἱππεῖς θηρῷεν διαδεχόμενοι. τὰ δὲ κρέα τῶν ἁλισκομένων ἦν παραπλήσια τοῖς
3 ἐλαφείοις, ἁπαλώτερα δέ. στρουθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τῶν ἱππέων ταχὺ ἐπαύοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέσπα φεύγουσα, τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν αἴρουσα, ὥσπερ ἱστίῳ χρωμένη. τὰς δὲ ὠτίδας ἄν τις ταχὺ ἀνιστῇ ἔστι λαμβάνειν· πέτονται γὰρ βραχὺ ὥσπερ πέρδικες καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαγορεύουσι. τὰ δὲ κρέα αὐτῶν ἥδιστα ἦν.

4 Πορευόμενοι δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Μάσκαν ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. ἐνταῦθα ἦν πόλις ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ Κορσωτή· περιερρεῖτο δ' αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάσκα κύκλῳ. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας

There they found many villages full of grain and wine, and there they remained for three days and provisioned the army.

V. Thence he marched through Arabia, keeping the Euphrates on the right, five stages through desert country, thirty-five parasangs. In this region the ground was an unbroken plain, as level as the sea, and full of wormwood; and whatever else there was on the plain by way of shrub or reed, was always fragrant, like spices; trees there were none, but wild animals of all sorts, vast numbers of wild asses and many ostriches, besides bustards and gazelles. These animals were sometimes chased by the horsemen. As for the asses, whenever one chased them, they would run on ahead and stop—for they ran much faster than the horses—and then, when the horses came near, they would do the same thing again, and it was impossible to catch them unless the horsemen posted themselves at intervals and hunted them in relays. The flesh of those that were captured was like venison, but more tender. But no ostrich was captured by anyone, and any horseman who chased one speedily desisted; for it would distance him at once in its flight, not merely plying its feet, but hoisting its wings and using them like a sail. The bustards, on the other hand, can be caught if one is quick in starting them up, for they fly only a short distance, like partridges, and soon tire; and their flesh was delicious.

Marching on through this region they arrived at the Mascas river, which is a plethrum in width. There, in the desert, was a large city named Corsote, completely surrounded by the Mascas. There they

5 τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθ-
μοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς καὶ δέκα παρασάγγας ἐνενή-
κοντα τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, καὶ
ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ Πύλας. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς σταθμοῖς
πολλὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ λιμοῦ· οὐ
γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον, ἀλλὰ
ψιλὴ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ χώρα· οἱ δὲ ἐνοικοῦντες ὄνους
ἀλέτας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀρύττοντες καὶ ποιοῦν-
τες εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἦγον καὶ ἐπώλουν καὶ ἀνταγο-
6 ράζοντες σῖτον ἔζων. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ὁ σῖτος
ἐπέλιπε, καὶ πρίασθαι οὐκ ἦν εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ
ἀγορᾷ ἐν τῷ Κύρου βαρβαρικῷ, τὴν καπίθην
ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίτων τεττάρων σίγλων. ὁ δὲ
σίγλος δύναται ἑπτὰ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιωβέλιον
Ἀττικούς· ἡ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικὰς
ἐχώρει. κρέα οὖν ἐσθίοντες οἱ στρατιῶται διεγί-
7 γνοντο. ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν οὓς πάνυ
μακροὺς ἤλαυνεν, ὁπότε ἢ πρὸς ὕδωρ βούλοιτο
διατελέσαι ἢ πρὸς χιλόν.

Καὶ δή ποτε στενοχωρίας καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος
ταῖς ἁμάξαις δυσπορεύτου ἐπέστη ὁ Κῦρος σὺν
τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτοις
καὶ ἔταξε Γλοῦν καὶ Πίγρητα λαβόντας τοῦ
βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεκβιβάζειν τὰς ἁμάξας.
8 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ σχολαίως ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ
ὀργῇ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν Πέρσας τοὺς
κρατίστους συνεπισπεῦσαι τὰς ἁμάξας. ἔνθα δὴ

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1 The Lydians were notorious as hucksters.

2 See ii. 18 and the note thereon, and iii. 14.

3 The obol = about $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ or 3 cents. The choenix = about 1 quart. The prices stated were, roughly, about fifty times normal prices at Athens.

remained three days and provisioned the army. Thence Cyrus marched thirteen stages through desert country, ninety parasangs, keeping the Euphrates river on the right, and arrived at Pylae. In the course of these stages many of the baggage animals died of hunger, for there was no fodder and, in fact, no growing thing of any kind, but the land was absolutely bare; and the people who dwelt here made a living by quarrying mill-stones along the river banks, then fashioning them and taking them to Babylon, where they sold them and bought grain in exchange. As for the troops, their supply of grain gave out, and it was not possible to buy any except in the Lydian[1] market attached to the barbarian army of Cyrus,[2] at the price of four *sigli* for a *capithê* of wheat flour or barley meal. The *siglus* is worth seven and one-half Attic obols, and the *capithê* had the capacity of two Attic choenices.[3] The soldiers therefore managed to subsist by eating meat.[4] And Cyrus sometimes made these stages through the desert very long, whenever he wanted to reach water or fresh fodder.

Once in particular, when they came upon a narrow, muddy place which was hard for the wagons to get through, Cyrus halted with his train of nobles and dignitaries and ordered Glus and Pigres to take some of the barbarian troops and help to pull the wagons out. But it seemed to him that they took their time with the work; accordingly, as if in anger, he directed the Persian nobles who accompanied him to take a hand in hurrying on the wagons. And

[4] The Greeks of Xenophon's time ate comparatively little meat under any circumstances, but in the Arabian desert a diet of meat constituted a real hardship.

μέρος τι τῆς εὐταξίας ἦν θεάσασθαι. ῥίψαντες γὰρ τοὺς πορφυροῦς κάνδυς ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος ἑστηκώς, ἵεντο ὥσπερ ἂν δράμοι τις ἐπὶ νίκῃ καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρανοῦς γηλόφου, ἔχοντες τούς τε πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας καὶ τὰς ποικίλας ἀναξυρίδας, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὺς περὶ τοῖς τραχήλοις καὶ ψέλια περὶ ταῖς χερσίν· εὐθὺς δὲ σὺν τούτοις εἰσπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸν πηλὸν θᾶττον ἢ ὥς τις ἂν
9 ᾤετο μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἁμάξας. τὸ δὲ σύμπαν δῆλος ἦν Κῦρος ὡς σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ οὐ διατρίβων ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἕνεκα ἤ τινος ἄλλου ἀναγκαίου ἐκαθέζετο, νομίζων, ὅσῳ θᾶττον ἔλθοι, τοσούτῳ ἀπαρασκευαστοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι, ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαίτερον, τοσούτῳ πλέον συναγείρεσθαι βασιλεῖ στράτευμα. καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν τῇ βασιλέως ἀρχῇ πλήθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκεσι τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῷ διεσπάσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀσθενής, εἴ τις διὰ ταχέων τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῖτο.

10 Πέραν δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους σταθμοὺς ἦν πόλις εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ Χαρμάνδη· ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιῶται ἠγόραζον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, σχεδίαις διαβαίνοντες ὧδε. διφθέρας ἃς εἶχον στεγάσματα ἐπίμπλασαν χόρτου κούφου, εἶτα συνῆγον καὶ συνέσπων, ὡς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι τῆς κάρφης τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐπὶ τούτων διέβαινον καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἶνόν τε ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου πεποιημένον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος

then one might have beheld a sample of good discipline: they each threw off their purple cloaks where they chanced to be standing, and rushed, as a man would run to win a victory, down a most exceedingly steep hill, wearing their costly tunics and coloured trousers, some of them, indeed, with necklaces around their necks and bracelets on their arms; and leaping at once, with all this finery, into the mud, they lifted the wagons high and dry and brought them out more quickly than one would have thought possible. In general, it was clear that Cyrus was in haste throughout the whole journey and was making no delays, except where he halted to procure provisions or for some other necessary purpose; his thought was that the faster he went, the more unprepared the King would be to fight with him, while, on the other hand, the slower he went, the greater would be the army that was gathering for the King. Furthermore, one who observed closely could see at a glance that while the King's empire was strong in its extent of territory and number of inhabitants, it was weak by reason of the greatness of the distances and the scattered condition of its forces, in case one should be swift in making his attack upon it.

Across the Euphrates river in the course of these desert marches was a large and prosperous city named Charmande, and here the soldiers made purchases of provisions, crossing the river on rafts in the following way: they took skins which they had for tent covers, filled them with hay, and then brought the edges together and sewed them up, so that the water could not touch the hay; on these they would cross and get provisions—wine made from the date of the palm

καὶ σῖτον μελίνης· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ
πλεῖστον.
11 Ἀμφιλεξάντων δέ τι ἐνταῦθα τῶν τέ του[1]
Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν του[2] Κλεάρχου ὁ
Κλέαρχος κρίνας ἀδικεῖν τὸν τοῦ Μένωνος πληγὰς
ἐνέβαλεν· ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα
ἔλεγεν· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον
12 καὶ ὠργίζοντο ἰσχυρῶς τῷ Κλεάρχῳ. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ
ἡμέρᾳ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ
ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖ κατασκεψάμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν
ἀφιππεύει ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν διὰ τοῦ Μένωνος
στρατεύματος σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· Κῦρος
δὲ οὔπω ἧκεν, ἀλλ' ἔτι προσήλαυνε· τῶν δὲ
Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν ξύλα σχίζων τις ὡς εἶδε
Κλέαρχον διελαύνοντα, ἵησι τῇ ἀξίνῃ· καὶ οὗτος
μὲν αὐτοῦ ἥμαρτεν· ἄλλος δὲ λίθῳ καὶ ἄλλος,
13 εἶτα πολλοί, κραυγῆς γενομένης. ὁ δὲ καταφεύγει
εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ εὐθὺς παραγγέλλει
εἰς τὰ ὅπλα· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσε
μεῖναι τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας, αὐτὸς
δὲ λαβὼν τοὺς Θρᾷκας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας οἳ ἦσαν
αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι πλείους ἢ τετταράκοντα,
τούτων δὲ οἱ πλεῖστοι Θρᾷκες, ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
Μένωνος, ὥστ' ἐκείνους ἐκπεπλῆχθαι καὶ αὐτὸν
Μένωνα, καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα· οἱ δὲ καὶ
14 ἕστασαν ἀποροῦντες τῷ πράγματι. ὁ δὲ Πρό-
ξενος—ἔτυχε γὰρ ὕστερος προσιὼν καὶ τάξις
αὐτῷ ἑπομένη τῶν ὁπλιτῶν—εὐθὺς οὖν εἰς τὸ
μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐδεῖτο

[1] τέ του Gem., following Madvig: τε τοῦ MSS.
του Gem., following Madvig: τοῦ MSS.

tree and bread made of millet, for this grain was very abundant in the country.

There one of Menon's soldiers and one of Clearchus' men had some dispute, and Clearchus, deciding that Menon's man was in the wrong, gave him a flogging. The man then went to his own army and told about it, and when his comrades heard of the matter, they took it hard and were exceedingly angry with Clearchus. On the same day Clearchus, after going to the place where they crossed the river and there inspecting the market, was riding back to his own tent through Menon's army, having only a few men with him; and Cyrus had not yet arrived, but was still on the march toward the place; and one of Menon's soldiers who was splitting wood threw his axe at Clearchus when he saw him riding through the camp. Now this man missed him, but another threw a stone at him, and still another, and then, after an outcry had been raised, many. Clearchus escaped to his own army and at once called his troops to arms; he ordered his hoplites to remain where they were, resting their shields against their knees,[1] while he himself with the Thracians[2] and the horsemen, of which he had in his army more than forty, most of them Thracians, advanced upon Menon's troops; the result was that these and Menon himself were thoroughly frightened and ran to their arms, though there were some who stood stock-still, nonplussed by the situation. But Proxenus—for he chanced to be now coming up, later than the others, with a battalion of hoplites following him—straightway led his troops into the space between the two parties, halted them under arms, and

[1] *i.e.* in readiness to support him in case of need.
[2] See ii. 9.

τοῦ Κλεάρχου μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ὁ δ' ἐχαλέπαινεν
ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὀλίγου δεήσαντος καταλευσθῆναι πράως
λέγοι τὸ αὑτοῦ πάθος, ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ
15 μέσου ἐξίστασθαι. ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἐπῄει καὶ Κῦρος
καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸ πρᾶγμα· εὐθὺς δ' ἔλαβε τὰ παλτὰ
εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν πιστῶν
ἧκεν ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ λέγει τάδε.
16 Κλέαρχε καὶ Πρόξενε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες
Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἴστε ὅ τι ποιεῖτε. εἰ γάρ τινα
ἀλλήλοις μάχην συνάψετε, νομίζετε ἐν τῇδε τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ ἐμέ τε κατακεκόψεσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς οὐ πολὺ
ἐμοῦ ὕστερον· κακῶς γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων
πάντες οὗτοι οὓς ὁρᾶτε βάρβαροι πολεμιώτεροι
17 ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων. ἀκούσας
ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο· καὶ παυσά-
μενοι ἀμφότεροι κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα.

VI. Ἐντεῦθεν προϊόντων ἐφαίνετο ἴχνια ἵππων καὶ κόπρος. εἰκάζετο δ' εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὡς δισχιλίων ἵππων. οὗτοι προϊόντες ἔκαιον καὶ χιλὸν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο χρήσιμον ἦν. Ὀρόντας δὲ Πέρσης ἀνὴρ γένει τε προσήκων βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις Περσῶν ἐπιβουλεύει Κύρῳ καὶ πρόσθεν πολεμήσας, καταλλαγεὶς δέ.
2 οὗτος Κύρῳ εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτῷ δοίη ἱππέας χιλίους,
ὅτι τοὺς προκατακαίοντας ἱππέας ἢ κατακαίνοι
ἂν ἐνεδρεύσας ἢ ζῶντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἂν ἕλοι
καὶ κωλύσειε τοῦ καίειν ἐπιόντας, καὶ ποιήσειεν

began to beg Clearchus not to proceed with his attack. Clearchus, however, was angry, because, when he had barely escaped being stoned to death, Proxenus was talking lightly of his grievance, and he ordered him to remove himself from between them. At this moment Cyrus also came up and learned about the situation, and he immediately took his spears in his hands and, attended by such of his counsellors as were present, came riding into the intervening space and spoke as follows: "Clearchus, and Proxenus, and all you other Greeks who are here, you know not what you are doing. For as certainly as you come to fighting with one another, you may be sure that on this very day I shall be instantly cut to pieces and yourselves not long after me; for once let ill fortune overtake us, and all these barbarians whom you see will be more hostile to us than are those who stand with the King." On hearing these words Clearchus came to his senses, and both parties ceased from their quarrel and returned to their quarters.

VI. As they went on from there, they kept seeing tracks of horses and horses' dung. To all appearances it was the trail of about two thousand horses, and the horsemen as they proceeded were burning up fodder and everything else that was of any use. At this time Orontas, a Persian, who was related to the King by birth and was reckoned among the best of the Persians in matters of war, devised a plot against Cyrus—in fact, he had made war upon him before this, but had become his friend again. He now said to Cyrus that if he would give him a thousand horsemen, he would either ambush and kill these horsemen who were burning ahead of him, or he would capture many of them alive and put a stop to their burning as they

ὥστε μήποτε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἰδόντας τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα βασιλεῖ διαγγεῖλαι. τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα ἐδόκει ὠφέλιμα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέρος παρ' ἑκάστου τῶν
3 ἡγεμόνων. ὁ δ' Ὀρόντας νομίσας ἑτοίμους εἶναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἱππέας γράφει ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ βασιλέα ὅτι ἥξοι ἔχων ἱππέας ὡς ἂν δύνηται πλείστους· ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἱππεῦσιν ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλιον αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι. ἐνῆν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῆς πρόσθεν φιλίας ὑπομνήματα καὶ πίστεως. ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δίδωσι πιστῷ ἀνδρί, ὡς ᾤετο· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν Κύρῳ δίδωσιν.
4 ἀναγνοὺς δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Κῦρος συλλαμβάνει Ὀρόνταν, καὶ συγκαλεῖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν Πέρσας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπτά, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ὁπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τούτους δὲ θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνήν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τρισχιλίους ὁπλίτας.

5 Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ εἴσω παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὅς γε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆλθεν, ἀπήγγειλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Ὀρόντα ὡς
6 ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν. ἔφη δὲ Κῦρον ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου ὧδε. Παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος ὅ τι δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο πράξω περὶ Ὀρόντα τουτουί. τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἔδωκεν ὑπήκοον εἶναι ἐμοί· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταχθείς, ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οὗτος ἐπολέμησεν ἐμοὶ ἔχων τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν

advanced; and he would see to it that they should never be able to behold Cyrus' army and get to the King with their report. When Cyrus heard this plan, it seemed to him to be an expedient one, and he directed Orontas to get a detachment from each one of the cavalry commanders. Then Orontas, thinking that his horsemen were assured him, wrote a letter to the King saying that he would come to him with as many horsemen as he could get; and he urged the King to direct his own cavalry to receive him as a friend. The letter also contained reminders of his former friendship and fidelity. This letter he gave to a man whom he supposed to be faithful to him; but this man took it and gave it to Cyrus. When Cyrus had read it, he had Orontas arrested, and summoned to his tent seven of the noblest Persians among his attendants, while he ordered the Greek generals to bring up hoplites and bid them station themselves under arms around his tent. And the generals obeyed the order, bringing with them about three thousand hoplites.

Clearchus was also invited into the tent as a counsellor, for both Cyrus and the other Persians regarded him as the man who was honoured above the rest of the Greeks. And when he came out, he reported to his friends how Orontas' trial was conducted—for it was no secret. He said that Cyrus began the conference in this way: "My friends, I have invited you here in order that I may consult with you and then take such action in the case of Orontas here as is right in the sight of gods and men. This man was given me at first by my father, to be my subject; then, at the bidding, as he himself said, of my brother, this man levied war upon me, holding the citadel of Sardis,

ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα
ὥστε δόξαι τούτῳ τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσα-
7 σθαι, καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα, μετὰ ταῦτα,
ἔφη, ὦ Ὀρόντα, ἔστιν ὅ τι σε ἠδίκησα; ἀπεκρί-
νατο ὅτι οὔ. πάλιν δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἠρώτα· Οὐκοῦν
ὕστερον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς, οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
ἀδικούμενος ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσοὺς κακῶς ἐποίεις
τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν ὅ τι ἐδύνω; ἔφη Ὀρόντας.
Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὁπότ' αὖ ἔγνως τὴν σαυτοῦ
δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμὸν
μεταμέλειν τέ σοι ἔφησθα καὶ πείσας ἐμὲ πιστὰ
πάλιν ἔδωκάς μοι καὶ ἔλαβες παρ' ἐμοῦ; καὶ ταῦθ'
8 ὡμολόγει Ὀρόντας. Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀδικη-
θεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ τρίτον ἐπιβουλεύων μοι
φανερὸς γέγονας; εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀρόντα ὅτι
οὐδὲν ἀδικηθείς, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτόν· Ὁμο-
λογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἄδικος γεγενῆσθαι; Ἦ γὰρ
ἀνάγκη, ἔφη Ὀρόντας. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἠρώτησεν
ὁ Κῦρος· Ἔτι οὖν ἂν γένοιο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ
πολέμιος, ἐμοὶ δὲ φίλος καὶ πιστός; ὁ δὲ ἀπε-
κρίνατο ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ γενοίμην, ὦ Κῦρε, σοί γ' ἄν
9 ποτε ἔτι δόξαιμι. πρὸς ταῦτα Κῦρος εἶπε τοῖς
παροῦσιν· Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα μὲν πεποίηκε,
τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος, ὦ Κλέαρχε,
ἀπόφηναι γνώμην ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ. Κλέαρχος δὲ
εἶπε τάδε. Συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον
ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα, ὡς μηκέτι δέῃ
τοῦτον φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολὴ ᾖ ἡμῖν, τὸ
κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι, τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς τούτους εὖ
10 ποιεῖν. ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
προσθέσθαι.

and I, by the war I waged against him, made him count it best to cease from warring upon me, and I received and gave the hand-clasp of friendship. Since that," he said, "Orontas, have I done you any wrong?" "No," Orontas answered. Cyrus went on questioning him: "Did you not afterwards, although, as you yourself admit, you had suffered no wrong at my hands, desert me for the Mysians, and do all the harm you could to my territory?" "Yes," said Orontas. "Did you not," Cyrus said, "when once more you had learned the slightness of your own power, go to the altar of Artemis and say you were sorry, and did you not, after prevailing upon me to pardon you, again give me pledges and receive pledges from me?" This also Orontas admitted. "What wrong, then," said Cyrus, "have you suffered at my hands, that you now for the third time have been found plotting against me?" When Orontas replied, "None," Cyrus asked him: "Do you admit, then, that you have proved yourself a doer of wrong toward me?" "I cannot choose but do so," said Orontas. Thereupon Cyrus asked again: "Then could you henceforth prove yourself a foe to my brother and a faithful friend to me?" "Even if I should do so, Cyrus," he replied, "you could never after this believe it of me." Then Cyrus said to those who were present: "Such have been this man's deeds, such are now his words; and now, Clearchus, do you be the first of my counsellors to express the opinion you hold." And Clearchus said: "My advice is to put this man out of the way as speedily as possible, so that we may no longer have to be on our guard against the fellow, but may be left free, so far as concerns him, to requite with benefits these willing servants." In this opinion Clearchus said that the others also concurred.

Μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη,[1] κελεύοντος Κύρου ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόνταν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἅπαντες ἀναστάντες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς· εἶτα δ' ἐξῆγον αὐτὸν οἷς προσετάχθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν οἵπερ πρόσθεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τότε προσεκύνησαν,
11 καίπερ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄγοιτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτου σκηνὴν εἰσήχθη τοῦ πιστοτάτου τῶν Κύρου σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζῶντα Ὀρόνταν οὔτε τεθνηκότα οὐδεὶς εἶδε πώποτε, οὐδὲ ὅπως ἀπέθανεν οὐδεὶς εἰδὼς ἔλεγεν· εἴκαζον δὲ ἄλλοι ἄλλως· τάφος δὲ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ ἐφάνη.

VII. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας δώδεκα. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ μέσας νύκτας· ἐδόκει γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἕω ἥξειν βασιλέα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι μαχούμενον· καὶ ἐκέλευε Κλέαρχον μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἡγεῖσθαι, Μένωνα δὲ[2] τοῦ εὐωνύμου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς
2 ἑαυτοῦ διέταξε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἅμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ[3] ἡμέρᾳ ἥκοντες[4] αὐτόμολοι παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀπήγγελλον Κύρῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλέως[5] στρατιᾶς.

Κῦρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεβουλεύετό τε πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην ποιοῖτο καὶ αὐτὸς παρῄνει θαρρύνων

[1] ἔφη MSS., Mar.: Gem. omits, following inferior MSS.
[2] After δὲ the MSS. have τὸν Θετταλὸν: Gem. brackets, following Hug. [3] ἐπιούσῃ MSS.: Gem. brackets.
[4] ἥκοντες MSS.: ἧκον Gem.
[5] ἀπήγγελλον . . . βασιλέως in margin of MS. C: Gem. omits.

After this, he said, at the bidding of Cyrus, every man of them arose, even Orontas' kinsmen, and took him by the girdle, as a sign that he was condemned to death; and then those to whom the duty was assigned led him out. And when the men who in former days were wont to do him homage saw him, they made their obeisance even then, although they knew that he was being led forth to death. Now after he had been conducted into the tent of Artapates, the most faithful of Cyrus' chamberlains, from that moment no man ever saw Orontas living or dead, nor could anyone say from actual knowledge how he was put to death,—it was all conjectures, of one sort and another; and no grave of his was ever seen.

VII. From there Cyrus marched through Babylonia three stages, twelve parasangs. On the third stage he held a review of the Greeks and the barbarians on the plain at about midnight; for he thought that at the next dawn the King would come with his army to do battle; and he ordered Clearchus to act as commander of the right wing and Menon of the left, while he himself marshalled his own troops. On the morning following the review, at daybreak, there came deserters from the great King and brought reports to Cyrus about his army.

At this time Cyrus called together the generals and captains of the Greeks, and not only took counsel with them as to how he should fight the battle, but, for his own part, exhorted and encouraged them as

3 τοιάδε. Ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀπορῶν βαρβάρων[1] συμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἄγω, ἀλλὰ νομίζων ἀμείνονας καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρβάρων ὑμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἧς κέκτησθε καὶ ἧς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονίζω. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἑλοίμην ἂν ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάν-
4 των καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίων. ὅπως δὲ καὶ εἰδῆτε εἰς οἷον ἔρχεσθε ἀγῶνα, ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς διδάξω. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ καὶ κραυγῇ πολλῇ ἐπίασιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάσχησθε, τὰ ἄλλα καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαί[2] μοι δοκῶ οἵους ἡμῖν γνώσεσθε τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὄντας ἀνθρώπους. ὑμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων καὶ εὖ τῶν ἐμῶν γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τὸν μὲν οἴκαδε βουλόμενον ἀπιέναι τοῖς οἴκοι ζηλωτὸν ποιήσω ἀπελθεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσειν τὰ παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ ἑλέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν οἴκοι.

5 Ἐνταῦθα Γαυλίτης παρὼν φυγὰς Σάμιος, πιστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, εἶπεν· Καὶ μήν, ὦ Κῦρε, λέγουσί τινες ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπισχνῇ νῦν διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι τοῦ κινδύνου προσιόντος,[3] ἂν δὲ εὖ γένηταί τι, οὐ μεμνήσεσθαί σέ φασιν· ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδ᾽ εἰ μεμνῇό τε καὶ βούλοιο δύνασθαι ἂν ἀποδοῦναι ὅσα
6 ὑπισχνῇ. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Κῦρος· Ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ πατρῴα πρὸς μὲν μεσημβρίαν μέχρι οὗ διὰ καῦμα οὐ δύνανται οἰκεῖν ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον μέχρι οὗ διὰ χειμῶνα· τὰ δ᾽ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων πάντα σατρα-

[1] βαρβάρων MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Bisschop.
[2] αἰσχύνεσθαι MSS.: αἰσχυνεῖσθαι Gem., following Dindorf.
[3] τοῦ . . . προσιόντος MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Cobet.

follows: "Men of Greece, it is not because I have not barbarians enough that I have brought you hither to fight for me; but because I believe that you are braver and stronger than many barbarians, for this reason I took you also. Be sure, therefore, to be men worthy of the freedom you possess, upon the possession of which I congratulate you. For you may be certain that freedom is the thing I should choose in preference to all that I have and many times more. And now, in order that you may know what sort of a contest it is into which you are going, I who do know will tell you. Our enemies have great numbers and they will come on with a great outcry; for the rest, however, if you can hold out against these things, I am ashamed, I assure you, to think what sorry fellows you will find the people of our country to be. But if you be men and if my undertaking turn out well, I shall make anyone among you who wishes to return home an object of envy to his friends at home upon his return, while I shall cause many of you, I imagine, to choose life with me in preference to life at home."

Hereupon Gaulites, a Samian exile who was there and was in the confidence of Cyrus, said: "And yet, Cyrus, there are those who say that your promises are big now because you are in such a critical situation—for the danger is upon you—but that if any good fortune befall, you will fail to remember them; and some say that even if you should remember and have the will, you would not have the means to make good all your promises." Upon hearing these words Cyrus said: "Well, gentlemen, my father's realm extends toward the south to a region where men cannot dwell by reason of the heat, and to the north to a region where they cannot dwell by reason of the cold; and

7 πεύουσιν οἱ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φίλοι. ἢν δ' ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν, ἡμᾶς δεῖ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φίλους τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς ποιῆσαι. ὥστε οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα, μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι δῶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν φίλων, ἂν εὖ γένηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἱκανοὺς οἷς δῶ. ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ στέφανον ἑκάστῳ
8 χρυσοῦν δώσω. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες αὐτοί τε ἦσαν πολὺ προθυμότεροι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξήγγελλον. εἰσῇσαν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ[1] τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἀξιοῦντες εἰδέναι τί σφίσιν ἔσται, ἐὰν κρατήσωσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐμπιμπλὰς ἁπάντων τὴν
9 γνώμην ἀπέπεμπε. παρεκελεύοντο δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες ὅσοιπερ διελέγοντο μὴ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὄπισθεν ἑαυτῶν τάττεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ὧδέ πως ἤρετο τὸν Κῦρον· Οἴει γάρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι, ὦ Κῦρε, τὸν ἀδελφόν; Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἴπερ γε Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδός ἐστι παῖς, ἐμὸς δὲ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἀμαχεὶ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ λήψομαι.

10 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀσπὶς μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία, πελτασταὶ δὲ δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρου βαρβάρων δέκα μυριάδες καὶ ἅρματα
11 δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν

[1] Before καὶ the MSS. have οἵ τε στρατηγοὶ: Gem. brackets, following Weiske.

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[1] *i.e.* in the review mentioned in § 1.
[2] There is a discrepancy, as yet unexplained, between these numbers and those previously given. *cp.* ii. 9 and note; also ii. 25 and iv. 3.

all that lies between these limits my brother's friends rule as satraps. Now if we win the victory, we must put our friends in control of these provinces. I fear, therefore, not that I shall not have enough to give to each of my friends, if success attends us, but that I shall not have enough friends to give to. And as for you men of Greece, I shall give each one of you a wreath of gold besides." When they heard these words, the officers were far more eager themselves and carried the news away with them to the other Greeks. Then some of the others also sought Cyrus' presence, demanding to know what they should have, in case of victory; and he satisfied the expectations of every one of them before dismissing them. Now all alike who conversed with him urged him not to take part in the fighting, but to station himself in their rear. Taking this opportunity Clearchus asked Cyrus a question like this: "But do you think, Cyrus, that your brother will fight with you?" "Yes, by Zeus," said Cyrus, "if he is really a son of Darius and Parysatis and a brother of mine, I shall not win this realm without fighting for it."

At this time, when the troops were marshalled under arms,[1] the number of the Greeks was found to be ten thousand four hundred hoplites, and two thousand five hundred peltasts,[2] while the number of the barbarians under Cyrus was one hundred thousand and there were about twenty scythe-bearing chariots. The enemy, it was reported, numbered one million two hundred thousand [3] and had two hundred scythe-bearing chariots; besides, there was a troop of six

[3] The number is probably overstated. Ctesias, the King's Greek physician (see viii. 26), is said by Plutarch (*Artax.* 13) to have given it as 400,000.

ἑξακισχίλιοι ἱππεῖς, ὧν Ἀρταγέρσης ἦρχεν· οὗτοι δ᾽ αὖ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν.
12 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως στρατεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες[1] τέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἕκαστος, Ἀβροκόμας, Τισσαφέρνης, Γωβρύας, Ἀρβάκης. τούτων δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐνενήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα· Ἀβροκόμας δὲ ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης ἡμέραις πέντε,
13 ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων. ταῦτα δὲ ἤγγελλον πρὸς Κῦρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως[2] πρὸ τῆς μάχης, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἳ ὕστερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων ταὐτὰ ἤγγελλον.

14 Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας τρεῖς συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ· ᾤετο γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλέα· κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτον τάφρος ἦν ὀρυκτὴ βαθεῖα, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ὀργυαὶ πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος
15 ὀργυαὶ τρεῖς. παρετέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἄνω διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ δώδεκα παρασάγγας μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους·[3] ἦν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην πάρο-

[1] After ἄρχοντες the MSS. have καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες: Gem. brackets, following Weiske.

[2] παρὰ . . . βασιλέως MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Bisschop. Immediately before this phrase the MSS. have ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων: Mar. brackets, following Kiehl.

[3] After Μηδίας τείχους the MSS. proceed as follows: ἔνθα αἱ διώρυχες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ῥέουσαι· εἰσὶ δὲ τέτταρες, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πλεθριαῖαι, βαθεῖαι δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ πλοῖα πλεῖ ἐν αὐταῖς σιταγωγά· εἰσβάλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην, διαλείπουσι δ᾽ ἑκάστη παρασσάγγην, γέφυραι δ᾽ ἔπεισιν. [Here also are the canals, which flow from the Tigris river; they are four in number, each a plethrum wide and exceedingly deep, and grain-carrying ships ply in them; they empty into the

thousand horsemen, under the command of Artagerses, which was stationed in front of the King himself. And the King's army had four commanders, each at the head of three hundred thousand men, namely, Abrocomas, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces. But of the forces just enumerated only nine hundred thousand, with one hundred and fifty scythe-bearing chariots, were present at the battle; for Abrocomas, marching from Phoenicia, arrived five days too late for the engagement. Such were the reports brought to Cyrus by those who deserted from the Great King before the battle, and after the battle identical reports were made by the prisoners taken thereafter.

From there Cyrus marched one stage, three parasangs, with his whole army, Greek and barbarian alike, drawn up in line of battle; for he supposed that on that day the King would come to an engagement; for about midway of this day's march there was a deep trench, five fathoms[1] in width and three fathoms in depth. This trench extended up through the plain for a distance of twelve parasangs, reaching to the wall of Media,[2] and alongside the Euphrates

[1] ὀργυά = the reach of the outstretched arms (*cp.* ὀρέγω), or, as an exact unit of measurement, 6 Greek feet = 5 ft. 10 in. English measure.

[2] Described by Xenophon in II. iv. 12. It extended from the Euphrates north-east to the Tigris, and was built by the Babylonians, apparently in the sixth century B.C., as a defence against the Medes. It is supposed that the southern part of the wall was now in ruins. Such a supposition serves to explain (1) the need of the King's trench, and (2) the fact that Xenophon does not describe the wall here, but only in II. iv. 12.

Euphrates and are a parasang apart, and there are bridges over them.] This passage is regarded by edd. generally as an interpolation.

δος στενὴ μεταξὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τάφρου ὡς
16 εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ εὖρος· ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάφρον
βασιλεὺς ποιεῖ μέγας ἀντὶ ἐρύματος, ἐπειδὴ πυν-
θάνεται Κῦρον προσελαύνοντα. ταύτην[1] δὴ τὴν
πάροδον Κῦρός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρῆλθε καὶ
17 ἐγένοντο εἴσω τῆς τάφρου. ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο βασιλεύς, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρούν-
των φανερὰ ἦσαν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἴχνη
18 πολλά. ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος Σιλανὸν καλέσας τὸν
Ἀμπρακιώτην μάντιν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δαρεικοὺς
τρισχιλίους, ὅτι τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ
πρότερον θυόμενος εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι βασιλεὺς οὐ
μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν, Κῦρος δ' εἶπεν· Οὐκ ἄρα
ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέ-
ραις· ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσῃς, ὑπισχνοῦμαί σοι δέκα
τάλαντα. τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ
19 παρῆλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ
οὐκ ἐκώλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα
διαβαίνειν, ἔδοξε καὶ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
20 Κῦρος ἐπορεύετο ἠμελημένως μᾶλλον. τῇ δὲ
τρίτῃ ἐπί τε τοῦ ἅρματος καθήμενος τὴν πορείαν
ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἔχων πρὸ αὑτοῦ, τὸ
δὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπορεύετο καὶ τῶν
ὅπλων τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἁμαξῶν ἤγοντο
καὶ ὑποζυγίων.

VIII. Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν

[1] ταύτην MSS.: ταύτῃ Gem., following Hartman.

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[1] It would seem that the rapid approach of Cyrus had prevented the King from completing the trench.

[2] Hence 10 (Attic) talents = 3,000 (Persian) darics. A talent was 60 minas, and therefore a mina was counted

there was a narrow passage, not more than about twenty feet in width, between the river and the trench; and the trench[1] had been constructed by the Great King as a means of defence when he learned that Cyrus was marching against him. Accordingly Cyrus and his army went through by the passage just mentioned, and so found themselves on the inner side of the trench. Now on that day the King did not offer battle, but tracks of both horses and men in retreat were to be seen in great numbers. Then Cyrus summoned Silanus, his Ambraciot soothsayer, and gave him three thousand darics; for on the eleventh day before this, while sacrificing, he had told Cyrus that the King would not fight within ten days, and Cyrus had said: "Then he will not fight at all, if he will not fight within ten days; however, if your prediction proves true, I promise you ten talents.[2]" So it was this money that he then paid over, the ten days having passed. But since the King did not appear at the trench and try to prevent the passage of Cyrus' army, both Cyrus and the rest concluded that he had given up the idea of fighting. Hence on the following day Cyrus proceeded more carelessly; and on the third day he was making the march seated in his chariot and with only a small body of troops drawn up in line in front of him, while the greater part of the army was proceeding in disorder and many of the soldiers' arms and accoutrements were being carried in wagons and on pack-animals.

VIII. It was now about full-market time[3] and the

equivalent to 5 darics. The discrepancy between this result and the values stated previously (see notes on i. 9 and iv. 13) is explained by the fact that silver was worth much more at this time, relatively to gold, than at present.

[3] *i.e.* the middle of the forenoon.

καὶ πλησίον ἦν ὁ σταθμὸς ἔνθα ἔμελλε καταλύειν,
ἡνίκα Πατηγύας, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης τῶν ἀμφὶ Κῦρον
χρηστός, προφαίνεται ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἱδροῦν-
τι τῷ ἵππῳ, καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶσιν οἷς ἐνετύγχανεν
ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ ἑλληνικῶς ὅτι βασιλεὺς
σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται ὡς εἰς μάχην
παρεσκευασμένος. ἔνθα δὴ πολὺς τάραχος ἐγένετο·
2 αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐδόκουν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ πάντες δὲ
3 ἀτάκτοις σφίσιν ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι· Κῦρός τε κατα-
πηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἅρματος τὸν θώρακα ἐνεδύετο
καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας
ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλεν ἐξοπλί-
ζεσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν
4 ἕκαστον. ἔνθα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο,
Κλέαρχος μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων πρὸς τῷ
Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, Πρόξενος δὲ ἐχόμενος, οἱ δὲ
ἄλλοι μετὰ τοῦτον, Μένων δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ
5 εὐώνυμον κέρας[1] ἔσχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. τοῦ δὲ
βαρβαρικοῦ ἱππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους
παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ καὶ τὸ
Ἑλληνικὸν πελταστικόν, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ Ἀρι-
αῖός τε ὁ Κύρου ὕπαρχος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο βαρβαρικόν,
6 Κῦρος δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς τούτου ὅσον ἑξακόσιοι κατὰ
τὸ μέσον,[2] ὡπλισμένοι θώραξι μὲν αὐτοὶ καὶ
παραμηριδίοις καὶ κράνεσι πάντες πλὴν Κύρου·
Κῦρος δὲ ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην

[1] καὶ . . . κέρας MSS.: τὸ στρατεύματος . . . κέρας Gem., following Fischer: Mar., after Bornemann, suspects καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.

[2] κατὰ τὸ μέσον inserted by Leunclavius, whom Gem. and Mar. follow.

stopping-place where Cyrus was intending to halt had been almost reached, when Pategyas, a trusty Persian of Cyrus' staff, came into sight, riding at full speed, with his horse in a sweat, and at once shouted out to everyone he met, in the barbarian tongue and in Greek, that the King was approaching with a large army, all ready for battle. Then ensued great confusion; for the thought of the Greeks, and of all the rest in fact, was that he would fall upon them immediately, while they were in disorder; and Cyrus leaped down from his chariot, put on his breastplate, and then, mounting his horse, took his spears in his hands and passed the word to all the others to arm themselves and get into their places, every man of them. Thereupon they proceeded in great haste to take their places, Clearchus occupying the right end of the Greek wing,[1] close to the Euphrates river, Proxenus next to him, and the others beyond Proxenus, while Menon and his army took the left end of the Greek wing. As for the barbarians, Paphlagonian horsemen to the number of a thousand took station beside Clearchus on the right wing, as did the Greek peltasts, on the left was Ariaeus, Cyrus' lieutenant, with the rest of the barbarian army, and in the centre Cyrus and his horsemen, about six hundred in number. These troopers were armed with breastplates and thigh-pieces and, all of them except Cyrus, with helmets—Cyrus, however, went into the battle with his

[1] *i.e.* the Greek army as a whole constituted the right wing of Cyrus' entire army, his Persian troops forming the centre and the left wing. Clearchus and Menon, then, occupy the right and left wings, respectively, of the *Greek* contingent.

7 καθίστατο.[1] οἱ δ᾽ ἵπποι πάντες[2] εἶχον καὶ προ-
μετωπίδια καὶ προστερνίδια· εἶχον δὲ καὶ μαχαί-
ρας οἱ ἱππεῖς Ἑλληνικάς.
8 Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὔπω καταφα-
νεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· ἡνίκα δὲ δείλη ἐγίγνετο,
ἐφάνη κονιορτὸς ὥσπερ νεφέλη λευκή, χρόνῳ δὲ
συχνῷ ὕστερον ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ
ἐπὶ πολύ. ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο, τάχα δὴ
καὶ χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε καὶ λόγχαι καὶ αἱ
9 τάξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ ἦσαν ἱππεῖς
μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολεμίων·
Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τούτων ἄρχειν· ἐχόμενοι δὲ
γερροφόροι, ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὁπλῖται σὺν ποδήρεσι
ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν. Αἰγύπτιοι δ᾽ οὗτοι ἐλέγοντο
εἶναι· ἄλλοι δ᾽ ἱππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται. πάντες
δ᾽ οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων
10 ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο.[3] πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅρματα
διαλείποντα συχνὸν ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων τὰ δὴ δρεπανη-
φόρα καλούμενα· εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν
ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς
δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὅτῳ
ἐντυγχάνοιεν. ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὡς εἰς τὰς τάξεις
11 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλῶντα καὶ διακόψοντα. ὃ μέντοι
Κῦρος εἶπεν ὅτε καλέσας παρεκελεύετο τοῖς

[1] After καθίστατο the MSS. have λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν. [In fact, it is said of the Persians in general that they venture all the perils of war with their heads unprotected.] This passage is bracketed by almost all edd., following Wyttenbach.

head unprotected—and all their horses had frontlets and breast-pieces; and the men carried, besides their other weapons, Greek sabres.

And now it was midday, and the enemy were not yet in sight; but when afternoon was coming on, there was seen a rising dust, which appeared at first like a white cloud, but some time later like a kind of blackness in the plain, extending over a great distance. As the enemy came nearer and nearer, there were presently flashes of bronze here and there, and spears and the hostile ranks began to come into sight. There were horsemen in white cuirasses on the left wing of the enemy, under the command, it was reported, of Tissaphernes; next to them were troops with wicker shields and, farther on, hoplites with wooden shields which reached to their feet, these latter being Egyptians, people said; and then more horsemen and more bowmen. All these troops were marching in national divisions, each nation in a solid square. In front of them were the so-called scythe-bearing chariots, at some distance from one another; and the scythes they carried reached out sideways from the axles and were also set under the chariot bodies, pointing towards the ground, so as to cut to pieces whatever they met; the intention, then, was that they should drive into the ranks of the Greeks and cut the troops to pieces. As for the statement, however, which Cyrus made when he called the Greeks together and urged them to hold out against the

[2] After πάντες the MSS. have οἱ μετὰ Κύρου: Gem. and Mar. bracket, following Schenkl.

[3] ἕκαστον . . . ἐπορεύετο MSS.: Gem., following Hartman, brackets ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος and reads ἐπορεύοντο.

Ἕλλησι τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ κραυγῇ ἀλλὰ σιγῇ ὡς ἀνυστὸν καὶ ἡσυχῇ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ βραδέως προσῇσαν.

12 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κῦρος παρελαύνων αὐτὸς σὺν Πίγρητι τῷ ἑρμηνεῖ καὶ ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσι τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἐβόα ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅτι ἐκεῖ βασιλεὺς εἴη· κἂν τοῦτ', ἔφη, νικῶμεν, πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποίηται.

13 ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος τὸ μέσον στῖφος καὶ ἀκούων Κύρου ἔξω ὄντα τοῦ [1] εὐωνύμου βασιλέα—τοσοῦτον γὰρ πλήθει περιῆν βασιλεὺς ὥστε μέσον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου ἔξω ἦν—ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἤθελεν ἀποσπάσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, φοβούμενος μὴ κυκλωθείη ἑκατέρωθεν, τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλει ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι.

14 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα ὁμαλῶς προῄει, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον συνετάττετο ἐκ τῶν ἔτι προσιόντων. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος παρελαύνων οὐ πάνυ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι κατεθεᾶτο ἑκατέρωσε ἀποβλέπων εἴς τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς φίλους.

15 ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, πελάσας ὡς συναντῆσαι ἤρετο εἴ τι παραγγέλλοι· ὁ δ' ἐπιστήσας εἶπε καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευε πᾶσιν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ

16 σφάγια καλά. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων θορύβου ἤκουσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων ἰόντος, καὶ ἤρετο τίς ὁ θόρυβος εἴη. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν [2] ὅτι σύνθημα παρέρχεται δεύ-

[1] After τοῦ the MSS. have Ἑλληνικοῦ: Gem. brackets, following Hertlein.

[2] Before εἶπεν the better MSS. have Κλέαρχος: Gem. and Mar. bracket, following Bornemann.

shouting of the barbarians, he proved to be mistaken in this point; for they came on, not with shouting, but in the utmost silence and quietness, with equal step and slowly.

At this moment Cyrus rode along the line, attended only by Pigres, his interpreter, and three or four others, and shouted to Clearchus to lead his army against the enemy's centre, for the reason that the King was stationed there; "and if," he said, "we are victorious there, our whole task is accomplished." Clearchus, however, since he saw the compact body at the enemy's centre and heard from Cyrus that the King was beyond his left wing (for the King was so superior in numbers that, although occupying the centre of his own line, he was beyond Cyrus' left wing), was unwilling to draw the right wing away from the river, for fear that he might be turned on both flanks; and he told Cyrus, in reply, that he was taking care to make everything go well.

At this critical time the King's army was advancing evenly, while the Greek force, still remaining in the same place, was forming its line from those who were still coming up. And Cyrus, riding along at some distance from his army, was taking a survey, looking in either direction, both at his enemies and his friends. Then Xenophon,[1] an Athenian, seeing him from the Greek army, approached so as to meet him and asked if he had any orders to give; and Cyrus pulled up his horse and bade Xenophon tell everybody that the sacrificial victims and omens were all favourable. While saying this he heard a noise running through the ranks, and asked what the noise was. Xenophon replied that the watchword was now passing along

[1] The author. He always speaks of himself in the third person.

τερον ἤδη. καὶ ὃς ἐθαύμασε τίς παραγγέλλει καὶ
ἤρετο ὅ τι εἴη τὸ σύνθημα. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ζεὺς
17 σωτὴρ καὶ νίκη. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἀκούσας Ἀλλὰ
δέχομαί τε, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν
εἰς τὴν αὑτοῦ χώραν ἀπήλαυνε.

Καὶ οὐκέτι τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια διειχέτην τὼ
φάλαγγε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἡνίκα ἐπαιάνιζόν τε οἱ
Ἕλληνες καὶ ἤρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις.
18 ὡς δὲ πορευομένων ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φάλαγγος,
τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἅμα
ἐφθέγξαντο πάντες οἷον τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι,
καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθεον. λέγουσι δὲ ὥς τινες [1] καὶ
ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐδούπησαν φόβον
19 ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις. πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖ-
σθαι ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φεύγουσι. καὶ
ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἕλληνες,
ἐβόων δὲ ἀλλήλοις μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τάξει
20 ἕπεσθαι. τὰ δ' ἅρματα ἐφέροντο τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν
τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κενὰ
ἡνιόχων. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ προΐδοιεν, διίσταντο· ἔστι δ'
ὅστις καὶ κατελήφθη ὥσπερ ἐν ἱπποδρόμῳ ἐκπλα-
γείς· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν,
οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ
ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδέν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξευ-
θῆναί τις ἐλέγετο.

21 Κῦρος δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ'

[1] δὲ ὥς τινες Gem., following Becker: δέ τινες ὡς MSS.

for the second time.[1] And Cyrus wondered who had given it out, and asked what the watchword was. Xenophon replied "Zeus Saviour and Victory." And upon hearing this Cyrus said, "Well, I accept it, and so let it be." After he had said these words he rode back to his own position.

At length the opposing lines were not three or four stadia apart, and then the Greeks struck up the paean and began to advance against the enemy. And when, as they proceeded, a part of the phalanx billowed out, those who were thus left behind began to run; at the same moment they all set up the sort of war-cry which they raise to Enyalius,[2] and all alike began running. It is also reported that some of them clashed their shields against their spears, thereby frightening the enemy's horses. And before an arrow reached them, the barbarians broke and fled. Thereupon the Greeks pursued with all their might, but shouted meanwhile to one another not to run at a headlong pace, but to keep their ranks in the pursuit. As for the enemy's chariots, some of them plunged through the lines of their own troops, others, however, through the Greek lines, but without charioteers. And whenever the Greeks saw them coming, they would open a gap for their passage; one fellow, to be sure, was caught, like a befuddled man on a race-course, yet it was said that even he was not hurt in the least, nor, for that matter, did any other single man among the Greeks get any hurt whatever in this battle, save that some one on the left wing was reported to have been hit by an arrow.

When Cyrus saw that the Greeks were victorious

[1] *i.e.* back again, from the last man to the first.
[2] *i.e.* Ares.

αὐτοὺς καὶ διώκοντας, ἡδόμενος καὶ προσκυνού-
μενος ἤδη ὡς βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ᾽ αὐτόν, οὐδ᾽
ὣς ἐξήχθη διώκειν, ἀλλὰ συνεσπειραμένην ἔχων
τὴν τῶν σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἑξακοσίων ἱππέων τάξιν ἐπε-
μελεῖτο ὅ τι ποιήσει βασιλεύς. καὶ γὰρ ᾔδει αὐτὸν
22 ὅτι μέσον ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ
πάντες δ᾽ οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσον ἔχον-
τες τὸ αὑτῶν ἡγοῦνται, νομίζοντες οὕτω καὶ ἐν
ἀσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι, ἢν ᾖ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν ἑκατέ-
ρωθεν, καὶ εἴ τι παραγγεῖλαι χρῄζοιεν, ἡμίσει ἂν
23 χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ βασιλεὺς
δὴ τότε μέσον ἔχων τῆς αὑτοῦ στρατιᾶς ὅμως ἔξω
ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου κέρατος. ἐπεὶ δ᾽
οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου οὐδὲ τοῖς
αὐτοῦ τεταγμένοις ἔμπροσθεν, ἐπέκαμπτεν ὡς εἰς
κύκλωσιν.
24 Ἔνθα δὴ Κῦρος δείσας μὴ ὄπισθεν γενόμενος
κατακόψῃ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐλαύνει ἀντίος· καὶ
ἐμβαλὼν σὺν τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις νικᾷ τοὺς πρὸ βασι-
λέως τεταγμένους καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε τοὺς
ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι λέγεται αὐτὸς τῇ
25 ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσην τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν. ὡς
δ᾽ ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, διασπείρονται καὶ οἱ Κύρου
ἑξακόσιοι εἰς τὸ διώκειν ὁρμήσαντες, πλὴν πάνυ
ὀλίγοι ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν κατελείφθησαν, σχεδὸν οἱ
26 ὁμοτράπεζοι καλούμενοι. σὺν τούτοις δὲ ὢν καθ-
ορᾷ βασιλέα καὶ τὸ ἀμφ᾽ ἐκεῖνον στῖφος· καὶ
εὐθὺς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ᾽ εἰπὼν Τὸν ἄνδρα ὁρῶ

over the division opposite them and were in pursuit, although he was pleased and was already being saluted with homage as King by his attendants, he nevertheless was not induced to join the pursuit, but, keeping in close formation the six hundred horsemen of his troop, he was watching to see what the King would do. For he knew that the King held the centre of the Persian army; in fact, all the generals of the barbarians hold their own centre when they are in command, for they think that this is the safest position, namely, with their forces on either side of them, and also that if they want to pass along an order, the army will get it in half the time; so in this instance the King held the centre of the army under his command, but still he found himself beyond the left wing of Cyrus. Since, then, there was no one in his front to give battle to him or to the troops drawn up before him, he proceeded to wheel round his line with the intention of encircling the enemy.

Thereupon Cyrus, seized with fear lest he might get in the rear of the Greek troops and cut them to pieces, charged to meet him; and attacking with his six hundred, he was victorious over the forces stationed in front of the King and put to flight the six thousand,[1] slaying with his own hand, it is said, their commander Artagerses. But when they turned to flight, Cyrus' six hundred, setting out in pursuit, became scattered also, and only a very few were left about him, chiefly his so-called table companions. While attended by these only, he caught sight of the King and the compact body around him; and on the instant he lost control of himself and, with

[1] See vii. 11.

ἵετο ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ παίει κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος, ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ ἰατρός, καὶ[1] ἰάσασθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι.

27 Παίοντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζει τις παλτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βιαίως· καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ Κῦρος καὶ οἱ ἀμφ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου, ὁπόσοι μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἀπέθνῃσκον Κτησίας λέγει· παρ᾽ ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν· Κῦρος δὲ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ὀκτὼ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν
28 ἔκειντο ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ. Ἀρταπάτης δ᾽ ὁ πιστότατος αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτούχων θεράπων λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ πεπτωκότα εἶδε Κῦρον, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ
29 ἵππου περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ μέν φασι βασιλέα κελεῦσαί τινα ἐπισφάξαι αὐτὸν Κύρῳ, οἱ δ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην· εἶχε γὰρ χρυσοῦν· καὶ στρεπτὸν δ᾽ ἐφόρει καὶ ψέλια καὶ τἆλλα ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι Περσῶν· ἐτετίμητο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κύρου δι᾽ εὔνοιάν τε καὶ πιστότητα.

IX. Κῦρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν Περσῶν τῶν μετὰ Κῦρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων βασιλικώτατός τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἀξιώτατος, ~~ὡς παρὰ~~ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται τῶν Κύρου ~~δοκούντων~~ ἐν
2 πείρᾳ γενέσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔτι παῖς ὢν ὅτ᾽ ἐπαιδεύετο καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις παισί, πάντων πάντα κράτιστος ἐνομίζετο.
3 πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ

[1] Before καὶ Gem. inserts ὃς, following Buttmann.

the cry "I see the man," rushed upon him and struck him in the breast and wounded him through his breastplate—as Ctesias[1] the physician says, adding also that he himself healed the wound.

While Cyrus was delivering his stroke, however, some one hit him a hard blow under the eye with a javelin; and then followed a struggle between the King and Cyrus and the attendants who supported each of them. The number that fell on the King's side is stated by Ctesias, who was with him; on the other side, Cyrus himself was killed and eight of the noblest of his attendants lay dead upon him. Of Artapates, the one among Cyrus' chamberlains who was his most faithful follower, it is told that when he saw Cyrus fallen, he leaped down from his horse and threw his arms about him. And one report is that the King ordered someone to slay him upon the body of Cyrus, while others say that he drew his dagger and slew himself with his own hand; for he had a dagger of gold, and he also wore a necklace and bracelets and all the other ornaments that the noblest Persians wear; for he had been honoured by Cyrus because of his affection and fidelity.

IX. In this way, then, Cyrus came to his end, a man who was the most kingly and the most worthy to rule of all the Persians who have been born since Cyrus the Elder, as all agree who are reputed to have known Cyrus intimately. For firstly, while he was still a boy and was being educated with his brother and the other boys, he was regarded as the best of them all in all respects. For all the sons of the noblest Persians are educated at the King's

[1] See note on vii. 11.

ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται· ἔνθα πολλὴν
μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἄν τις, αἰσχρὸν δ'
4 οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἀκοῦσαι οὔτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστι. θεῶνται δ'
οἱ παῖδες καὶ τιμωμένους[1] ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ
ἀκούουσι, καὶ ἄλλους ἀτιμαζομένους· ὥστε εὐθὺς
παῖδες ὄντες μανθάνουσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι.
5 ἔνθα Κῦρος αἰδημονέστατος μὲν πρῶτον τῶν
ἡλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ
τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι,
ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἄριστα
χρῆσθαι· ἔκρινον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πό-
λεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως, φιλομα-
6 θέστατον εἶναι καὶ μελετηρότατον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ
ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν καὶ πρὸς
τὰ θηρία μέντοι φιλοκινδυνότατος. καὶ ἄρκτον
ποτὲ ἐπιφερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν
κατεσπάσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν,
ὧν καὶ τὰς ὠτειλὰς εἶχεν, τέλος δὲ κατέκανε· καὶ
τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακα-
ριστὸν ἐποίησεν.
7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σα-
τράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ
Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπε-
δείχθη οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροί-
ζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι περὶ
πλείστου ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῳ σπείσαιτο καὶ εἴ τῳ
συνθοῖτο καὶ εἴ τῳ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδαμῶς[2]

[1] After τιμωμένους Gem. inserts ἐνίους.
[2] μηδαμῶς Gem., following Hug: μηδὲν MSS.

court. There one may learn discretion and self-control in full measure, and nothing that is base can be either heard or seen. The boys have before their eyes the spectacle of men honoured by the King and of others dishonoured; they likewise hear of them; and so from earliest boyhood they are learning how to rule and how to submit to rule. Here, then, Cyrus was reputed to be, in the first place, the most modest of his fellows, and even more obedient to his elders than were his inferiors in rank; secondly, the most devoted to horses and the most skilful in managing horses; he was also adjudged the most eager to learn, and the most diligent in practising, military accomplishments, alike the use of the bow and of the javelin. Then, when he was of suitable age, he was the fondest of hunting and, more than that, the fondest of incurring danger in his pursuit of wild animals. On one occasion, when a bear charged upon him, he did not take to flight, but grappled with her and was dragged from his horse; he received some injuries, the scars of which he retained, but in the end he killed the bear; and, furthermore, the man who was the first to come to his assistance he made an object of envy to many.

Again, when he was sent down [1] by his father to be satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia and was also appointed commander of all the troops whose duty it is to muster in the plain of Castolus, he showed, in the first place, that he counted it of the utmost importance, when he concluded a treaty or compact with anyone or made anyone any promise, under no circumstances to prove false to his

[1] See Introd., p. 231, note 1; also i. 2.

8 ψεύδεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν αὐτῷ
αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι, ἐπίστευον δ᾽ οἱ ἄνδρες·
καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπεισαμένου Κύρου
ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς παθεῖν.
9 τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι
αἱ πόλεις ἑκοῦσαι Κῦρον εἵλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρ-
νους πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελε
10 τοὺς φεύγοντας προέσθαι ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν. καὶ
γὰρ ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ [1] ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἄν ποτε
προοῖτο, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὐδ᾽ εἰ
ἔτι μὲν μείους γένοιντο, ἔτι δὲ κάκιον πράξειαν.
11 Φανερὸς δ᾽ ἦν καὶ εἴ τίς τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν
ποιήσειεν αὐτόν, νικᾶν πειρώμενος· καὶ εὐχὴν
δέ τινες αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον ὡς εὔχοιτο τοσοῦτον
χρόνον ζῆν ἔστε νικῴη καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς
12 ποιοῦντας ἀλεξόμενος. καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλεῖστοι δὴ
αὐτῷ ἑνί γε ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ
χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα
13 προέσθαι. οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἄν τις εἴποι ὡς
τοὺς κακούργους καὶ ἀδίκους εἴα καταγελᾶν, ἀλλὰ
ἀφειδέστατα πάντων ἐτιμωρεῖτο· πολλάκις δ᾽ ἦν
ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς στειβομένας ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ
χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στερομένους ἀνθρώπους·
ὥστ᾽ ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο καὶ Ἕλληνι καὶ

[1] Before καὶ Gem. inserts ὁ.

word. It was for this reason, then, that the cities trusted him and put themselves under his protection,[1] and that individuals also trusted him; and if anyone had been an enemy, when Cyrus made a treaty with him he trusted that he would suffer no harm in violation of that treaty. Consequently, when he came to hostilities with Tissaphernes, all the cities of their own accord chose Cyrus rather than Tissaphernes, with the exception of Miletus[2]; and the reason why the Milesians feared him was, that he would not prove false to the exiles from their city. For he showed repeatedly, by deed as well as by word, that he would never abandon them when once he had come to be their friend, not even if they should become still fewer in number and should meet with still worse misfortune.

It was manifest also that whenever a man conferred any benefit upon Cyrus or did him any harm, he always strove to outdo him; in fact, some people used to report it as a prayer of his that he might live long enough to outdo both those who benefited and those who injured him, returning like for like. Hence it was that he had a greater following than any other one man of our time of friends who eagerly desired to entrust to him both treasure and cities and their very bodies. Yet, on the other hand, none could say that he permitted malefactors and wicked men to laugh at him; on the contrary, he was merciless to the last degree in punishing them, and one might often see along the travelled roads people who had lost feet or hands or eyes; thus in Cyrus' province it became possible for either Greek or barbarian, provided he were guilty of no

[1] See i. 6 *fin.* [2] See i. 7 and ii. 2.

βαρβάρῳ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι ὅπῃ
τις ἤθελεν, ἔχοντι ὅ τι προχωροίη.
14 Τούς γε μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὡμολόγητο
διαφερόντως τιμᾶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ
πόλεμος πρὸς Πισίδας καὶ Μυσούς· στρατευό-
μενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας, οὓς
ἑώρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας
ἐποίει ἧς κατεστρέφετο χώρας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ
15 ἄλλοις δώροις ἐτίμα· ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοὺς μὲν
ἀγαθοὺς εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς δού-
λους τούτων ἀξιοῦσθαι[1] εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν πολλὴ
ἦν ἀφθονία αὐτῷ τῶν ἐθελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου
16 τις οἴοιτο Κῦρον αἰσθήσεσθαι. εἴς γε μὴν
δικαιοσύνην εἴ τις φανερὸς γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι
βουλόμενος, περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τούτους πλου-
σιωτέρως ζῆν ποιεῖν[2] τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερ-
17 δούντων. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δικαίως
αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ
ἐχρήσατο. καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, οἳ
χρημάτων ἕνεκα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἔπλευσαν, ἔγνωσαν
κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι Κύρῳ καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν[3]
18 ἢ τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γέ τίς τι
αὐτῷ προστάξαντι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσειεν, οὐδενὶ
πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἴασε τὴν προθυμίαν. τοι-
γαροῦν δὴ κράτιστοι ὑπηρέται παντὸς ἔργου
Κύρῳ ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι.
19 Εἰ δέ τινα ὁρῴη δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ
δικαίου καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε ἧς ἄρχοι χώρας

[1] The text is uncertain: Mar. follows, though doubtfully, the MSS. reading ἀξιοῦσθαι: Gem., following Schenkl, has ἀξίως.

[2] πλουσιωτέρως ζῆν ποιεῖν Gem., following Hug: πλουσιωτέρους ποιεῖν MSS.

wrongdoing, to travel fearlessly wherever he wished, carrying with him whatever it was to his interest to have.

But it was the brave in war, as all agree, whom he honoured especially. For example, he was once at war with the Pisidians and Mysians and commanded in person an expedition into their territories; and whomsoever in his army he found willing to meet dangers, these men he would not only appoint as rulers of the territory he was subduing, but would honour thereafter with other gifts also. Thus the brave were seen to be most prosperous, while cowards were deemed fit to be their slaves. Consequently Cyrus had men in great abundance who were willing to meet danger wherever they thought that he would observe them. As for uprightness, if a man showed that he desired to distinguish himself in that quality, Cyrus considered it all important to enable such an one to live in greater opulence than those who were greedy of unjust gain. Hence he not only had many and various functions performed for him with fidelity, but, in particular, he secured the services of an army worthy of the name. For generals and captains who came overseas to serve him for the sake of money judged that loyal obedience to Cyrus was worth more to them than their mere monthly pay. Again, so surely as a man performed with credit any service that he assigned him, Cyrus never let his zeal go unrewarded. In consequence, he was said to have gained the very best supporters for every undertaking.

Furthermore, whenever he saw that a man was a skilful and just administrator, not only organizing

[3] πειθαρχεῖν MSS.: ὑπάρχειν Gem., following Hug.

καὶ προσόδους ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφεί-
λετο, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πλείω προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἡδέως
ἐπόνουν καὶ θαρραλέως ἐκτῶντο καὶ ὃ ἐπέπατο
αὖ τις ἥκιστα Κῦρον ἔκρυπτεν· οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν
τοῖς φανερῶς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πειρώ-
μενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων χρήμασι.
20 Φίλους γε μήν, ὅσους ποιήσαιτο καὶ εὔνους γνοίη
ὄντας καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι ὅ τι
τυγχάνοι βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται
πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν.
21 καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὗπερ αὐτὸς ἕνεκα φίλων ᾤετο
δεῖσθαι, ὡς συνεργοὺς ἔχοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο
συνεργὸς τοῖς φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου
22 ὅτου αἰσθάνοιτο ἕκαστον ἐπιθυμοῦντα. δῶρα
δὲ πλεῖστα μὲν οἶμαι εἷς γε ἀνὴρ ἐλάμβανε διὰ
πολλά· ταῦτα δὲ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις
23 διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους ἑκάστου σκοπῶν καὶ
ὅτου μάλιστα ὁρῴη ἕκαστον δεόμενον. καὶ ὅσα
τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ πέμποι τις ἢ ὡς εἰς πόλεμον ἢ
ὡς εἰς καλλωπισμόν, καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν
αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα οὐκ ἂν
δύναιτο τούτοις πᾶσι κοσμηθῆναι, φίλους δὲ
καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ
24 νομίζοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους
εὖ ποιοῦντα οὐδὲν θαυμάσιον, ἐπειδή γε καὶ
δυνατώτερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι

well the country over which he ruled, but producing revenues, he would never deprive such a man of territory, but would always give him more besides. The result was that they toiled with pleasure and accumulated with confidence, and, more than that, no one would conceal from Cyrus the store which he had acquired; for it was clear that he did not envy those who were frankly and openly rich, but strove to make use of the possessions of such as tried to conceal their wealth.

As to friends, all agree that he showed himself pre-eminent in his attentions to all the friends that he made and found devoted to him and adjudged to be competent co-workers in whatever he might be wishing to accomplish. For, just as the precise object for which he thought he needed friends himself was that he might have co-workers, so he tried on his own part to be a most vigorous co-worker with his friends to secure that which he found each one of them desired. Again, he received more gifts, I presume, than any other one man, and for many reasons; and surely he of all men distributed gifts most generously among his friends, with an eye to the tastes of each one and to whatever particular need he noted in each case. As for all the gifts which people sent him to wear upon his person, whether intended for war or merely for show, it is reported that he said of them that his own person could not be adorned with all these things, but that in his opinion friends nobly adorned were a man's greatest ornament. To be sure, the fact that he outdid his friends in the greatness of the benefits he conferred is nothing surprising, for the manifest reason that he had greater means than they; but that he surpassed

τῶν φίλων καὶ τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι χαρίζεσθαι,
25 ταῦτα ἔμοιγε μᾶλλον δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι. Κῦρος
γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεεῖς πολλάκις ὁπότε
πάνυ ἡδὺν λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὔπω δὴ πολλοῦ
χρόνου τούτου ἡδίονι οἴνῳ ἐπιτύχοι· τοῦτον οὖν
σοὶ ἔπεμψε καὶ δεῖταί σου τήμερον τοῦτον ἐκπιεῖν
26 σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς. πολλάκις δὲ χῆνας
ἡμιβρώτους ἔπεμπε καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεα καὶ ἄλλα
τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελεύων τὸν φέροντα· Τούτοις
ἥσθη Κῦρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ σὲ τούτων γεύ-
27 σασθαι. ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνυ εἴη, αὐτὸς
δὲ δύναιτο παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς
ἔχειν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, δια-
πέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν
σώματα ἄγουσιν ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον τὸν
χιλόν, ὡς μὴ πεινῶντες τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους
28 ἄγωσιν. εἰ δὲ δή ποτε πορεύοιτο καὶ πλεῖστοι
μέλλοιεν ὄψεσθαι, προσκαλῶν τοὺς φίλους
ἐσπουδαιολογεῖτο, ὡς δηλοίη οὓς τιμᾷ. ὥστε
ἐγὼ μέν γε, ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω, οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ
πλειόνων πεφιλῆσθαι οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρ-
29 βάρων. τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου καὶ τόδε· παρὰ
μὲν Κύρου δούλου ὄντος οὐδεὶς ἀπῄει πρὸς
βασιλέα, πλὴν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε· καὶ οὗτος
δὴ ὃν ᾤετο πιστόν οἱ εἶναι ταχὺ αὐτὸν ηὗρε
Κύρῳ φιλαίτερον ἢ ἑαυτῷ· παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως
πολλοὶ πρὸς Κῦρον ἀπῆλθον, ἐπειδὴ πολέμιοι

them in solicitude and in eagerness to do favours, this in my opinion is more admirable. For example, when Cyrus got some particularly good wine, he would often send the half-emptied jar to a friend with the message: "Cyrus says that he has not chanced upon better wine than this for a long time; so he sends it to you, and asks you to drink it up to-day in company with the friends you love best." So he would often send halves of geese and of loaves and so forth, instructing the bearer to add the message: "Cyrus enjoyed this, and therefore wants you also to take a taste of it." And wherever fodder was exceedingly scarce and he was able to get it for his own use because of the large number of his servants and because of his good planning, he would distribute this fodder among his friends and tell them to give it to the horses that carried their own bodies, that they might not be hungry while carrying his friends. And whenever he was on the march and was likely to be seen by very many people, he would call his friends to him and engage them in earnest conversation, in order to show whom he honoured. Hence, as I at least conclude from what comes to my ears, no man, Greek or barbarian, has ever been loved by a greater number of people. Here is a fact to confirm that conclusion: although Cyrus was a slave,[1] no one deserted him to join the King, save that Orontas attempted to do so (and he, mark you, speedily found out that the man he imagined was faithful to him, was more devoted to Cyrus than to him); on the other hand, many went over from the King to Cyrus after the two had become enemies

[1] A term habitually applied by the Greeks to the subjects of an absolute monarch, especially those of the Persian king.

ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώμενοι,[1] νομίζοντες παρὰ Κύρῳ
ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ ἀξιωτέρας ἂν τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ
30 παρὰ βασιλεῖ. μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ
τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς
ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς ἐδύνατο τοὺς πιστοὺς
31 καὶ εὔνους καὶ βεβαίους. ἀποθνήσκοντος γὰρ
αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντρά-
πεζοι ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ Κύρου πλὴν
Ἀριαίου· οὗτος δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύγχανεν ἐπὶ τῷ
εὐωνύμῳ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἄρχων· ὡς δ' ᾔσθετο Κῦρον
πεπτωκότα, ἔφυγεν ἔχων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν
οὗ ἡγεῖτο.

X. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Κύρου ἀποτέμνεται ἡ κεφαλὴ
καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἡ δεξιά. βασιλεὺς δὲ διώκων εἰσπίπ-
τει εἰς τὸ Κύρειον στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ
Ἀριαίου οὐκέτι ἵστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ
αὑτῶν στρατοπέδου εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν ἔνθεν ἕωθεν[2]
ὡρμῶντο· τέτταρες δ' ἐλέγοντο παρασάγγαι εἶναι
2 τῆς ὁδοῦ. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τά τε
ἄλλα πολλὰ διαρπάζουσι καὶ τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν
Κύρου παλλακίδα τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγο-
3 μένην εἶναι λαμβάνει. ἡ δὲ Μιλησία ἡ νεωτέρα[3]
ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ
πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἳ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις
ὅπλα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες πολλοὺς μὲν
τῶν ἁρπαζόντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν
ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὴν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην

[1] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώμενοι MSS.: ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάμενοι Gem., following Dindorf. [2] ἕωθεν inserted by Gem.
[3] ἡ νεωτέρα Mar. with the inferior MSS.: the better MSS. read ἦν νεωτέρα ἡ, which words, with Μιλησία, Gem. brackets, following Lincke.

(these being, moreover, the men who were most highly regarded by the King), because they thought that if they were deserving, they would gain a worthier reward with Cyrus than with the King. Furthermore, what happened to Cyrus at the end of his life is a strong indication that he was a true man himself and that he knew how to judge those who were faithful, devoted, and constant. When he died, namely, all his bodyguard of friends and table companions died fighting in his defence, with the exception of Ariaeus; he, it chanced, was stationed on the left wing at the head of the cavalry, and when he learned that Cyrus had fallen, he took to flight with the whole army that he commanded.

X. Then the head of Cyrus and his right hand were cut off. But the King, pursuing Ariaeus, burst into the camp of Cyrus; and Ariaeus and his men no longer stood their ground, but fled through their own camp to the stopping-place from which they had set out that morning, a distance, it was said, of four parasangs. So the King and his troops proceeded to secure plunder of various sorts in abundance, while in particular he captured the Phocaean woman, Cyrus' concubine, who, by all accounts, was clever and beautiful. The Milesian woman, however, the younger one, after being seized by the King's men made her escape, lightly clad, to some Greeks who had chanced to be standing guard amid the baggage train and, forming themselves in line against the enemy, had killed many of the plunderers, although some of their own number had been killed also; nevertheless, they did not take to flight, but they saved this woman and, furthermore, whatever

ἔσωσαν καὶ τἆλλα, ὁπόσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο, πάντα ἔσωσαν.

4 Ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλήλων βασιλεύς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' αὑτοὺς ὡς πάντας[1] νικῶντες, οἱ δ' ἁρ-
5 πάζοντες ὡς ἤδη πάντες[2] νικῶντες. ἐπεὶ δ' ᾔσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἴη, βασιλεὺς δ' αὖ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῷεν τὸ καθ' αὑτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἴχονται διώκοντες, ἔνθα δὴ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συντάττεται, ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο Πρόξενον καλέσας, πλησιαίτατος γὰρ ἦν, εἰ πέμποιέν τινας ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρα-
6 τόπεδον ἀρήξοντες.[3] ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς δῆλος ἦν προσιὼν πάλιν, ὡς ἐδόκει, ὄπισθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες στραφέντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ταύτῃ προσιόντος καὶ δεξόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτῃ μὲν οὐκ ἦγεν, ᾗ δὲ παρῆλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπῆγεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς[4] τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτομολή-

[1] *πάντας* MSS. except C_1, Mar.: Gem. brackets *ὡς . . . νικῶντες*, following Dobree.

[2] *πάντες* MSS. except C_1, Mar.: *πάντα* C_1, Gem.

[3] *ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν . . . ἀρήξοντες* MSS. except C_1, Mar.: *ὡς παντὶ σθένει . . . ἀρήξοντας* Gem., following Hug.

[4] *πρὸς* the inferior MSS., Mar.: *κατὰ* the better MSS., Gem.: Gem., however, following Schenkl, brackets *κατὰ . . . Ἕλληνας*.

else came within their lines, whether persons or property, they saved all alike.

At this time the King and the Greeks were distant from one another about thirty stadia, the Greeks pursuing the troops in their front, in the belief that they were victorious over all the enemy, the King and his followers plundering, in the belief that they were all victorious already. When, however, the Greeks learned that the King and his forces were in their baggage train, and the King, on the other hand, heard from Tissaphernes that the Greeks were victorious over the division opposite them and had gone on ahead in pursuit, then the King proceeded to gather his troops together and form them in line of battle, and Clearchus called Proxenus (for he was nearest him in the line) and took counsel with him as to whether they should send a detachment or go in full force to the camp, for the purpose of lending aid. Meanwhile the Greeks saw the King advancing again, as it seemed, from their rear, and they accordingly countermarched and made ready to meet his attack in case he should advance in that direction [1]; the King, however, did not do so, but returned by the same route he had followed before, when he passed outside of Cyrus' left wing, and in his return picked up not only those who had deserted to the Greeks during the battle,

[1] The Greeks had advanced straight forward from their position on the right wing and the King straight forward from *his* centre (which was beyond the left wing of Cyrus' entire, *i.e.* Greek and barbarian, army); hence the two had passed by one another at a considerable distance. The question now was, whether the King on his return march would move obliquely, so as to meet the Greeks, or would follow the same route by which he advanced, thus keeping clear of them again.

σαντας καὶ Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ.
7 ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρνης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ
ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ
τοὺς Ἕλληνας πελταστάς· διελαύνων δὲ κατέ-
κανε μὲν οὐδένα, διαστάντες δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπαιον
καὶ ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς· Ἐπισθένης δὲ Ἀμφιπο-
λίτης ἦρχε τῶν πελταστῶν καὶ ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος
8 γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' οὖν Τισσαφέρνης ὡς μεῖον ἔχων
ἀπηλλάγη, πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, εἰς δὲ
τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἐκεῖ συντυγχάνει βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὁμοῦ δὴ πάλιν
συνταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο.
9 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων
κέρας, ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς
τὸ κέρας καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς
κατακόψειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ
10 κέρας καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὄπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν. ἐν
ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παρα-
μειψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀν-
τίαν τὴν φάλαγγα ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον μαχούμενος
συνῄει. ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγγύς τε ὄντας
καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὖθις παιανίσαντες ἐπῇσαν

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[1] See viii. 4–5.

[2] At this point the fronts of the two armies—which were facing in opposite directions, and, further, each in the direction opposite to that which it took in the first encounter—were in approximately the same straight line. It should be noted that Xenophon means by "the left wing" of the Greeks that which had been the left wing in the original formation, but had now become the right.

but also Tissaphernes and his troops. For Tissaphernes had not taken to flight in the first encounter, but had charged along the river through the Greek peltasts[1]; he did not kill anyone in his passage, but the Greeks, after opening a gap for his men, proceeded to deal blows and throw javelins upon them as they went through. The commander of the Greek peltasts was Episthenes of Amphipolis, and it was said that he proved himself a sagacious man. At any rate, after Tissaphernes had thus come off with the worst of it, he did not wheel round again, but went on to the camp of the Greeks and there fell in with the King; so it was that, after forming their lines once more, they were proceeding together.

When they were over against the left wing of the Greeks,[2] the latter conceived the fear that they might advance against that wing and, by outflanking them on both sides, cut them to pieces; they thought it best, therefore, to draw the wing back and get the river in their rear.[3] But while they were taking counsel about this matter, the King had already changed his line of battle to the same form as theirs and brought it into position opposite them, just as when he had met them for battle the first time.[4] And when the Greeks saw that the enemy were near them and in battle-order, they again struck up the paean and advanced to the attack much more eagerly

[3] The Greek line was now, as in the beginning, at right angles to the Euphrates. The movement here described would (if executed) have made it parallel to the river, the latter serving as a defence in the rear.

[4] Xenophon seems to mean that the King now moved to the right until his flank (like that of the Greeks—see the preceding notes) rested upon the Euphrates. The two armies, therefore, were again squarely facing one another, though with positions relatively reversed (see note 2 above).

11 πολὺ προθυμότερον ἢ πρόσθεν. οἱ δ' αὖ βάρ-
βαροι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλὰ ἐκ πλέονος ἢ τὸ πρό-
σθεν ἔφευγον· οἱ δ' ἐπεδίωκον μέχρι κώμης τινός·
12 ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς
κώμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ' οὗ ἀνεστράφησαν οἱ ἀμφὶ
βασιλέα, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὁ
λόφος ἐνεπλήσθη, ὥστε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γι-
γνώσκειν. καὶ τὸ βασίλειον σημεῖον ὁρᾶν ἔφασαν
αἰετόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ πέλτῃ ἐπὶ ξύλου[1] ἀνα-
13 τεταμένον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἐχώρουν οἱ
Ἕλληνες, λείπουσι δὴ καὶ τὸν λόφον οἱ ἱππεῖς·
οὐ μὴν ἔτι ἀθρόοι ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν· ἐψιλοῦτο
δ' ὁ λόφος τῶν ἱππέων· τέλος δὲ καὶ πάντες
14 ἀπεχώρησαν. ὁ οὖν Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβίβαζεν
ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ στρά-
τευμα πέμπει Λύκιον τὸν Συρακόσιον καὶ ἄλλον
ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον καὶ κελεύει κατιδόντας τὰ ὑπὲρ
15 τοῦ λόφου τί ἐστιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. καὶ ὁ Λύκιος
ἤλασέ τε καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ
κράτος. σχεδὸν δ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν καὶ ἥλιος ἐδύετο.
16 Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ θέμενοι
τὰ ὅπλα ἀνεπαύοντο· καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι
οὐδαμοῦ Κῦρος φαίνοιτο οὐδ' ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
οὐδεὶς παρήει· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα,
ἀλλ' εἴκαζον ἢ διώκοντα οἴχεσθαι ἢ καταληψό-
17 μενόν τι προεληλακέναι· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουλεύοντο
εἰ αὐτοῦ μείναντες τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἄγοιντο
ἢ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς
ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἀμφὶ δορπηστὸν ἐπὶ
18 τὰς σκηνάς. ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο τὸ

[1] ἐπὶ ξύλου MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Cobet: Mar. regards as corrupt.

than before; and the barbarians once again failed to await the attack, but took to flight when at a greater distance from the Greeks than they were the first time. The Greeks pursued as far as a certain village, and there they halted; for above the village was a hill, upon which the King and his followers rallied; and they were not now foot-soldiers, but the hill was covered with horsemen, so that the Greeks could not perceive what was going on. They did see, they said, the royal standard, a kind of golden eagle on a shield, raised aloft upon a pole. But when at this point also the Greeks resumed their forward movement, the horsemen at once proceeded to leave the hill; they did not keep together, however, as they went, but scattered in different directions; so the hill became gradually cleared of the horsemen, till at last they were all gone. Clearchus, accordingly, did not lead the army up the hill, but halted at its foot and sent Lycius the Syracusan and another man to the summit, directing them to observe what was beyond the hill and report back to him. And Lycius, after riding up and looking, brought back word that the enemy were in headlong flight. At about this time the sun set.

Then the Greeks halted, grounded arms, and proceeded to rest themselves. At the same time they wondered that Cyrus was nowhere to be seen and that no one else had come to them from him; for they did not know that he was dead, but conjectured that he had either gone off in pursuit or pushed on to occupy some point. So they took counsel for themselves as to whether they should remain where they were and bring the baggage train thither, or return to their camp. The decision was to return, and they reached their tents about supper-time. Such

τέλος ἐγένετο. καταλαμβάνουσι δὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα διηρπασμένα, καὶ εἴ τι σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν ἦν, καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας μεστὰς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἴνου, ἃς παρεσκευάσατο Κῦρος, ἵνα εἴ ποτε σφόδρα τὸ στράτευμα λάβοι ἔνδεια, διαδιδοίη τοῖς Ἕλλησιν—ἦσαν δ' αὗται τετρακόσιαι, ὡς ἐλέγοντο, ἅμαξαι—καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ σὺν
19 βασιλεῖ διήρπασαν. ὥστε ἄδειπνοι ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ δὴ καταλῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἄριστον βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτω διεγένοντο.

was the conclusion of this day. They found most of their property pillaged, in particular whatever there was to eat or drink, and as for the wagons loaded with flour and wine which Cyrus had provided in order that, if ever serious need should overtake the army, he might have supplies to distribute among the Greeks (and there were four hundred of these wagons, it was said), these also the King and his men had now pillaged. The result was that most of the Greeks had no dinner; and they had had no breakfast, either, for the King had appeared before the time when the army was to halt for breakfast. Thus it was, then, that they got through this night.

BOOK II

B

2 I.[1] Ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ
ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι Κῦρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμπει σημα-
νοῦντα ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν οὔτε αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο.
ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς συσκευασαμένοις ἃ εἶχον καὶ
ἐξοπλισαμένοις προϊέναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἕως Κύρῳ
3 συμμείξειαν. ἤδη δὲ ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων ἅμα ἡλίῳ
ἀνέχοντι ἦλθε Προκλῆς ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρχων,
γεγονὼς ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λάκωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς
ὁ Ταμώ. οὗτοι ἔλεγον ὅτι Κῦρος μὲν τέθνηκεν,
Ἀριαῖος δὲ πεφευγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἴη μετὰ
τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ὅθεν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὡρ-
μῶντο, καὶ λέγει ὅτι ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν
περιμένοιεν αὐτούς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἥκειν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ
4 ἀπιέναι φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθενπερ ἦλθε. ταῦτα

[1] The MSS. here prefix the following summary of the preceding narrative (see translation on opposite page): Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἠθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράχθη καὶ ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν οἰόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν καὶ Κῦρον ζῆν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. A like introduction is prefixed to each of the following books except the sixth. All these summaries must have been the work of a lat editor.

BOOK II

I. [1] At daybreak the generals came together, and they wondered that Cyrus neither sent anyone else to tell them what to do nor appeared himself. They resolved, accordingly, to pack up what they had, arm themselves, and push forward until they should join forces with Cyrus. When they were on the point of setting out, and just as the sun was rising, came Procles, the ruler of Teuthrania, a descendant of Damaratus,[2] the Laconian, and with him Glus, the son of Tamos. They reported that Cyrus was dead, and that Ariaeus had fled and was now, along with the rest of the barbarians, at the stopping-place from which they had set out on the preceding day; further, he sent word that he and his troops were that day waiting for the Greeks, on the chance that they intended to join them, but on the next day, so Ariaeus said, he should set out on the return journey for Ionia, whence he had come. The generals upon

[1] Summary (see opposite page): The preceding narrative has described how a Greek force was collected for Cyrus at the time when he was planning an expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, what events took place during the upward march, how the battle was fought, how Cyrus met his death, and how the Greeks returned to their camp and lay down to rest, supposing that they were victorious at all points and that Cyrus was alive.

[2] A king of Sparta who was deposed in 491 B.C., fled to Persia, and afterwards accompanied Xerxes in his expedition against Greece. Teuthrania (in western Asia Minor) made part of the territory given him by Xerxes as a reward for this service.

ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες
πυνθανόμενοι βαρέως ἔφερον. Κλέαρχος δὲ τάδε
εἶπεν. Ἀλλ' ὤφελε μὲν Κῦρος ζῆν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
τετελεύτηκεν, ἀπαγγέλλετε Ἀριαίῳ ὅτι ἡμεῖς
νικῶμέν τε βασιλέα καί, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, οὐδεὶς ἔτι
ἡμῖν μάχεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἤλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα
ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλέα. ἐπαγγελλόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαίῳ, ἐὰν
ἐνθάδε ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασίλειον καθιεῖν
αὐτόν· τῶν γὰρ μάχην νικώντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν
5 ἐστί. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέλους
καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον τὸν Λάκωνα καὶ
Μένωνα τὸν Θετταλόν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Μένων
ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος Ἀριαίου.
6 Οἱ μὲν ᾤχοντο, Κλέαρχος δὲ περιέμενε· τὸ δὲ
στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο σῖτον ὅπως ἐδύνατο ἐκ τῶν
ὑποζυγίων κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὄνους· ξύλοις
δὲ ἐχρῶντο μικρὸν προϊόντες ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος
οὗ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο τοῖς τε οἰστοῖς πολλοῖς οὖσιν,
οὓς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτο-
μολοῦντας παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς γέρροις καὶ
ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς ξυλίναις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις·
7 πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πέλται καὶ ἅμαξαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι
ἔρημοι· οἷς πᾶσι χρώμενοι κρέα ἕψοντες ἤσθιον
ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν.

Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν καὶ
ἔρχονται παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κή-
ρυκες οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ἦν δ' αὐτῶν Φαλῖνος
εἷς Ἕλλην, ὃς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει ὢν

hearing this message, and the rest of the Greeks as they learned of it, were greatly distressed. Clearchus, however, said: "Well, would that Cyrus were alive! but since he is dead, carry back word to Ariaeus that, for our part, we have defeated the King, that we have no enemy left, as you see, to fight with, and that if you had not come, we should now be marching against the King. And we promise Ariaeus that, if he will come here, we will set him upon the royal throne; for to those who are victorious in battle belongs also the right to rule." With these words he sent back the messengers, sending with them Cheirisophus the Laconian and Menon the Thessalian; for this was Menon's own wish, inasmuch as he was an intimate and guest-friend of Ariaeus.

So they went off, and Clearchus awaited their return; meanwhile the troops provided themselves with food as best they could, by slaughtering oxen and asses of the baggage train. As for fuel, they went forward a short distance from their line to the place where the battle was fought and used for that purpose not only the arrows, many in number, which the Greeks had compelled all who deserted from the King to throw away, but also the wicker shields and the wooden Egyptian shields; there were likewise many light shields and wagons that they could carry off, all of them abandoned. These various things, then, they used for fuel, and so boiled meat and lived on it for that day.[1]

And now it was about full-market time,[2] and heralds arrived from the King and Tissaphernes, all of them barbarians except one, a Greek named Phalinus, who, as it chanced, was with Tissaphernes

[1] See note on I. v. 6. [2] See note on I. viii. 1.

καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις τε καὶ ὁπλομαχίαν.
8 οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες καὶ καλέσαντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχοντας λέγουσιν ὅτι βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχάνει καὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτονε, παραδόντας τὰ ὅπλα ἰόντας ἐπὶ βασιλέως θύρας εὑρίσκεσθαι ἄν τι δύνωνται
9 ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικώντων εἴη τὰ ὅπλα παραδιδόναι· ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθε ὅ τι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἥξω. ἐκάλεσε γάρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὅπως ἴδοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξῃρημένα· ἔτυχε γὰρ θυόμενος.

10 Ἔνθα δὴ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ἀρκάς, πρεσβύτατος ὤν, ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ ὅπλα παραδοίησαν· Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὦ Φαλῖνε, θαυμάζω πότερα ὡς κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ὡς διὰ φιλίαν δῶρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται λαβεῖν, λεγέτω τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐὰν
11 αὐτῷ ταῦτα χαρίσωνται. πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλῖνος εἶπε· Βασιλεὺς νικᾶν ἡγεῖται, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτεινε. τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔστιν ὅστις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἔχων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ καὶ ποταμῶν

[1] These words recall the famous answer which Leonidas at Thermopylae made to the same demand: μολὼν λαβέ, "Come and take them."

and was held in honour by him; for this Phalinus professed to be an expert in tactics and the handling of heavy infantry. When these heralds came up, they called for the leaders of the Greeks and said that the King, since victory had fallen to him and he had slain Cyrus, directed the Greeks to give up their arms, go to the King's court, and seek for themselves whatever favour they might be able to get. Such was the message of the King's heralds. The Greeks received it with anger, but nevertheless Clearchus said as much as this, that it was not victors who gave up their arms; "However," he continued, "do you, my fellow generals, give these men whatever answer you can that is best and most honourable, and I will return immediately." For one of his servants had summoned him to see the vital organs that had been taken out of a sacrificial victim, for Clearchus chanced to be engaged in sacrificing.

Then Cleanor the Arcadian, being the eldest of the generals, made answer that they would die sooner than give up their arms. And Proxenus the Theban said: "For my part, Phalinus, I wonder whether the King is asking for our arms on the assumption that he is victorious, or simply as gifts, on the assumption that we are his friends. For if he asks for them as victor, why need he ask for them, instead of coming and taking them?[1] But if he desires to get them by persuasion, let him set forth what the soldiers will receive in case they do him this favour." In reply to this Phalinus said: "The King believes that he is victor because he has slain Cyrus. For who is there now who is contending against him for his realm? Further, he believes that you also are his because he has you in the

ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς
δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν, ὅσον οὐδ᾽ εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν
δύναισθε ἂν ἀποκτεῖναι. μετὰ τοῦτον Θεόπομπος
12 Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν· Ὦ Φαλῖνε, νῦν, ὡς σὺ ὁρᾷς,
ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ ὅπλα καὶ
ἀρετή. ὅπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἰόμεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ
ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι, παραδόντες δ᾽ ἂν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν
σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. μὴ οὖν οἴου τὰ μόνα
ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ὄντα ὑμῖν παραδώσειν, ἀλλὰ σὺν
τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν μαχού-
13 μεθα. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλῖνος ἐγέλασε καὶ
εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε,
καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα· ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὤν,
εἰ οἴει τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι ἂν τῆς
14 βασιλέως δυνάμεως. ἄλλους δέ τινας ἔφασαν
λέγειν ὑπομαλακιζομένους ὡς καὶ Κύρῳ πιστοὶ
ἐγένοντο καὶ βασιλεῖ ἂν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι γένοιντο, εἰ
βούλοιτο φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο τι θέλοι
χρῆσθαι εἴτ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, συγκατα-
στρέψαιντ᾽ ἂν αὐτῷ.
15 Ἐν τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἧκε, καὶ ἠρώτησεν εἰ ἤδη
ἀποκεκριμένοι εἶεν. Φαλῖνος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν·
Οὗτοι μέν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει· σὺ δ᾽
16 ἡμῖν εἰπὲ τί λέγεις. ὁ δ᾽ εἶπεν· Ἐγώ σε, ὦ
Φαλῖνε, ἄσμενος ἑόρακα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
πάντες· σύ τε γὰρ Ἕλλην εἶ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτοι
ὄντες ὅσους σὺ ὁρᾷς· ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγ-

middle of his country, enclosed by impassable rivers, and because he can bring against you a multitude of men so great that you could not slay them even if he were to put them in your hands." Then Theopompus, an Athenian, said: "Phalinus, at this moment, as you see for yourself, we have no other possession save arms and valour. Now if we keep our arms, we imagine that we can make use of our valour also, but if we give them up, that we shall likewise be deprived of our lives. Do not suppose, therefore, that we shall give up to you the only possessions that we have; rather, with these we shall do battle against you for your possessions as well." When he heard this, Phalinus laughed and said: "Why, you talk like a philosopher, young man, and what you say is quite pretty; be sure, however, that you are a fool if you imagine that your valour could prove superior to the King's might." There were some others, so the story goes, who weakened a little, and said that, just as they had proved themselves faithful to Cyrus, so they might prove valuable to the King also if he should wish to become their friend; he might want to employ them for various purposes, perhaps for a campaign against Egypt, which they should be glad to assist him in subduing.

At this time Clearchus returned, and asked whether they had yet given an answer. And Phalinus broke in and said: "These people, Clearchus, all say different things; but tell us what your own opinion is." Clearchus replied: "I myself, Phalinus, was glad to see you, and, I presume, all the rest were, too; for you are a Greek and so are we, whose numbers you can observe for yourself. Now since we are in such a situation, we ask you to

μασι συμβουλευόμεθά σοι τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ ὧν
17 λέγεις. σὺ οὖν πρὸς θεῶν συμβούλευσον ἡμῖν
ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι, καὶ ὅ
σοι τιμὴν οἴσει εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον λεγόμενον,[1]
ὅτι Φαλῖνός ποτε πεμφθεὶς παρὰ βασιλέως
κελεύσων τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι
ξυμβουλευομένοις ξυνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς τάδε.
οἶσθα δὲ ὅτι ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἃ
18 ἂν ξυμβουλεύσῃς. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ὑπή-
γετο βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως
πρεσβεύοντα ξυμβουλεῦσαι μὴ παραδοῦναι τὰ
ὅπλα, ὅπως εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον εἶεν οἱ Ἕλληνες.
Φαλῖνος δὲ ὑποστρέψας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ
19 εἶπεν· Ἐγώ, εἰ μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μία
τις ὑμῖν ἐστι σωθῆναι πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖ,
συμβουλεύω μὴ παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα· εἰ δέ τοι
μηδεμία σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἐλπὶς ἄκοντος βασιλέως,
20 ξυμβουλεύω σῴζεσθαι ὑμῖν ὅπῃ δυνατόν. Κλέ-
αρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ
σὺ λέγεις· παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε, ὅτι
ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα, εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι,
πλείονος ἂν ἄξιοι εἶναι φίλοι ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ
παραδόντες ἄλλῳ, εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν, ἄμεινον ἂν
πολεμεῖν ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ἄλλῳ παραδόντες.
21 ὁ δὲ Φαλῖνος εἶπε· Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν·
ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐκέλευσε βασιλεύς, ὅτι
μένουσι μὲν ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ σπονδαὶ εἴησαν, προϊοῦσι
δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι πόλεμος. εἴπατε οὖν καὶ περὶ
τούτου πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπονδαί εἰσιν ἢ ὡς

[1] λεγόμενον Mar., edd.: ἀναλεγόμενον MSS.: ἀναγγελλό-μενον Gem.

advise us as to what we ought to do about the matter you mention. Do you, then, in the sight of the gods, give us whatever advice you think is best and most honourable, advice which will bring you honour in future time when it is reported in this way: 'Once on a time Phalinus, when he was sent by the King to order the Greeks to surrender their arms, gave them, when they sought his counsel, the following advice.' And you know that any advice you may give will certainly be reported in Greece." Now Clearchus was making this crafty suggestion in the hope that the very man who was acting as the King's ambassador might advise them not to give up their arms, and that thus the Greeks might be made more hopeful. But, contrary to his expectation, Phalinus also made a crafty turn, and said: "For my part, if you have one chance in ten thousand of saving yourselves by carrying on war against the King, I advise you not to give up your arms; but if you have no hope of deliverance without the King's consent, I advise you to save yourselves in what way you can." In reply to this Clearchus said: "Well, that is what you say; but as our answer carry back this word, that in our view if we are to be friends of the King, we should be more valuable friends if we keep our arms than if we give them up to someone else, and if we are to wage war with him, we should wage war better if we keep our arms than if we give them up to someone else." And Phalinus said: "That answer, then, we will carry back; but the King bade us tell you this also, that if you remain where you are, you have a truce, if you advance or retire, war. Inform us, therefore, on this point as well: shall you remain

πολέμου ὄντος παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαγγελῶ.[1] Κλέαρχος
22 δ' ἔλεξεν· Ἀπάγγελλε τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τούτου ὅτι καὶ ἡμῖν ταὐτὰ δοκεῖ ἅπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ. Τί οὖν ταῦτά ἐστιν; ἔφη ὁ Φαλῖνος. ἀπεκρίνατο[2] Κλέαρχος· Ἢν μὲν μένωμεν, σπονδαί, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ καὶ προϊοῦσι πόλεμος. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἠρώτησε·
23 Σπονδὰς ἢ πόλεμον ἀπαγγελῶ; Κλέαρχος δὲ ταὐτὰ πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο· Σπονδαὶ μὲν μένουσιν, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ ἢ προϊοῦσι πόλεμος. ὅ τι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐ διεσήμηνε.

II. Φαλῖνος μὲν δὴ ᾤχετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἧκον Προκλῆς καὶ Χειρίσοφος· Μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι πολλοὺς φαίη ὁ Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ βελτίους, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ἀλλ' εἰ βούλεσθε συναπιέναι, ἥκειν ἤδη κελεύει τῆς νυκτός. εἰ δὲ μή,
2 αὔριον πρῲ ἀπιέναι φησίν. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν· ἐὰν μὲν ἥκωμεν, ὥσπερ λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μή, πράττετε ὁποῖον ἄν τι ὑμῖν οἴησθε μάλιστα συμφέρειν. ὅ τι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐδὲ τούτοις εἶπε.

3 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη ἡλίου δύνοντος συγκαλέσας στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἔλεξε τοιάδε. Ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, θυομένῳ ἰέναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν πυνθάνομαι, ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ὁ Τίγρης ποταμός ἐστι ναυσίπορος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν

[1] ἀπαγγελῶ MSS., Mar.: ἀπαγγείλω Gem., following Bisschop.

[2] ἀπεκρίνατο the inferior MSS., Mar.: ἀπεκρίθη ὁ the better MSS., Gem.

and is there a truce, or shall I report from you that there is war?" Clearchus replied: "Report, then, on this point that our view is precisely the same as the King's." "What, then, is that?" said Phalinus. Clearchus replied, "If we remain, a truce, if we retire or advance, war." And Phalinus asked again, "Shall I report truce or war?" And Clearchus again made the same reply, "Truce if we remain, if we retire or advance, war." What he meant to do, however, he did not indicate.

II. So Phalinus and his companions departed. But the messengers from Ariaeus arrived—Procles and Cheirisophus only, for Menon stayed behind with Ariaeus; they reported that Ariaeus said there were many Persians of higher rank than himself and they would not tolerate his being king. "But," the messengers continued, "if you wish to make the return journey with him, he bids you come at once, during the night; otherwise, he says he will set out to-morrow morning." And Clearchus said: "Well, let it be this way: if we come, even as you propose; if we do not, follow whatever course you may think most advantageous to yourselves." But what he meant to do, he did not tell them, either.

After this, when the sun was already setting, he called together the generals and captains and spoke as follows: "When I sacrificed, gentlemen, the omens did not result favourably for proceeding against the King. And with good reason, it proves, they were not favourable; for, as I now ascertain, between us and the King is the Tigris, a navigable

δυναίμεθα ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ ἡμεῖς
οὐκ ἔχομεν. οὐ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένειν οἷόν τε·
τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔστιν ἔχειν· ἰέναι δὲ παρὰ
τοὺς Κύρου φίλους πάνυ καλὰ ἡμῖν τὰ ἱερὰ ἦν.
4 ὧδε οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν· ἀπιόντας δειπνεῖν ὅ τι τις
ἔχει· ἐπειδὰν δὲ σημήνῃ τῷ κέρατι ὡς ἀνα-
παύεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθε· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον,
ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ
ἕπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια ἔχοντες
5 πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἔξω. ταῦτ᾽
ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀπῆλθον
6 καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτω. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ μὲν ἦρχεν, οἱ
δὲ ἐπείθοντο, οὐχ ἑλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὁρῶντες ὅτι
μόνος ἐφρόνει οἷα δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα, οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι
ἄπειροι ἦσαν.[1]

7 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο Μιλτοκύθης μὲν
ὁ Θρᾷξ ἔχων τούς τε ἱππέας τοὺς μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ εἰς
τετταράκοντα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θρᾳκῶν ὡς τριακο-
8 σίους ηὐτομόλησε πρὸς βασιλέα. Κλέαρχος δὲ
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεῖτο κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, οἱ δ᾽
εἵποντο· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθ-
μὸν παρ᾽ Ἀριαῖον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιὰν ἀμφὶ
μέσας νύκτας· καὶ ἐν τάξει θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα
ξυνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων

[1] § 6 in the MSS. is as follows (see translation on opposite page): ἀριθμὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἣν ἦλθον ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς μάχης σταθμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, παρασάγγαι πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι, στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα στάδιοι ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι. This passage is regarded by edd. generally as an interpolation.

river, which we could not cross without boats—and boats we have none. On the other hand, it is not possible for us to stay where we are, for we cannot get provisions; but the omens were extremely favourable for our going to join the friends of Cyrus. This, then, is what you are to do: go away and dine on whatever you severally have; when the horn gives the signal for going to rest, pack up; when the second signal is given, load your baggage upon the beasts of burden; and at the third signal follow the van, keeping the beasts of burden on the side next to the river and the hoplites outside." Upon hearing these words the generals and captains went away and proceeded to do as Clearchus had directed. And thenceforth he commanded and they obeyed, not that they had chosen him, but because they saw that he alone possessed the wisdom which a commander should have, while the rest were without experience.[1]

Afterwards, when darkness had come on, Miltocythes the Thracian, with the horsemen under his command, forty in number, and about three hundred Thracian foot-soldiers, deserted to the King. But Clearchus put himself at the head of the rest of the troops, following out the plan of his previous orders, and they followed; and they reached the first stopping-place,[2] and there joined Ariaeus and his army, at about midnight. Then, while they halted under arms in line of battle, the generals and

[1] §6 (see opposite page): The length of the journey they had made from Ephesus, in Ionia, to the battlefield was ninety-three stages, five hundred and thirty-five parasangs, or sixteen thousand and fifty stadia; and the distance from the battlefield to Babylon was said to be three hundred and sixty stadia. [2] See i. 3.

παρ' Ἀριαῖον· καὶ ὤμοσαν οἵ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτιστοι μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσώμοσαν καὶ ἡγήσεσθαι ἀδόλως.
9 ταῦτα δὲ ὤμοσαν, σφάξαντες ταῦρον καὶ κάπρον καὶ κριὸν εἰς ἀσπίδα, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες βάπτοντες
10 ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι λόγχην. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, εἶπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος· Ἄγε δή, ὦ Ἀριαῖε, ἐπείπερ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμῖν, εἰπὲ τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας, πότερον ἄπιμεν ἥνπερ ἤλθομεν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐννενοηκέναι
11 δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρείττω. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἣν μὲν ἤλθομεν ἀπιόντες παντελῶς ἂν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἀπολοίμεθα· ὑπάρχει γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. ἑπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυτάτω οὐδὲ δεῦρο ἰόντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἴχομεν λαμβάνειν· ἔνθα δέ τι ἦν, ἡμεῖς διαπορευόμενοι κατεδαπανήσαμεν. νῦν δ' ἐπινοοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι μακροτέραν μέν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορή-
12 σομεν. πορευτέον δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πρώτους σταθμοὺς ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστον ἀποσπάσωμεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἢν γὰρ ἅπαξ δύο ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. ὀλίγῳ μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι οὐ τολμήσει ἐφέπεσθαι· πολὺν δ' ἔχων στόλον οὐ δυνήσεται ταχέως πορεύεσθαι· ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανιεῖ. ταύτην, ἔφη, τὴν γνώμην ἔχω ἔγωγε.

13 Ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη

captains had a meeting with Ariaeus; and the two parties—the Greek officers, and Ariaeus together with the highest in rank of his followers—made oath that they would not betray each other and that they would be allies, while the barbarians took an additional pledge to lead the way without treachery. These oaths they sealed by sacrificing a bull, a boar, and a ram over a shield, the Greeks dipping a sword in the blood and the barbarians a lance. After the pledges had been given, Clearchus said: "And now, Ariaeus, since you and we are to make the same journey, tell us what view you hold in regard to the route—shall we return by the same way we came, or do you think you have discovered another way that is better?" Ariaeus replied: "If we should return by the way we came, we should perish utterly from starvation, for we now have no provisions whatever. For even on our way hither we were not able to get anything from the country during the last seventeen stages; and where there was anything, we consumed it entirely on our march through. Now, accordingly, we intend to take a route that is longer, to be sure, but one where we shall not lack provisions. And we must make our first marches as long as we can, in order to separate ourselves as far as possible from the King's army; for if we once get a two or three days' journey away from the King, he will not then be able to overtake us. For he will not dare to pursue us with a small army, and with a large array he will not find it possible to march rapidly; and perhaps, furthermore, he will lack provisions. This," said he, "is the view which I hold, for my part."

This plan of campaign meant nothing else than

ἢ ἀποδρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατήγησε κάλλιον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐπορεύοντο ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον, λογιζόμενοι ἥξειν ἅμα ἡλίῳ δύνοντι εἰς κώμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας·
14 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν. ἔτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δείλην ἔδοξαν πολεμίους ὁρᾶν ἱππέας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἳ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὄντες εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἔθεον, καὶ Ἀριαῖος, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἁμάξης πορευόμενος διότι ἐτέτρωτο, καταβὰς ἐθωρα-
15 κίζετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὡπλίζοντο ἧκον λέγοντες οἱ προπεμφθέντες σκοποὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἱππεῖς εἶεν, ἀλλ' ὑποζύγια νέμοιντο. καὶ εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν πάντες ὅτι ἐγγύς που ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεύς· καὶ γὰρ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κώμαις οὐ πρόσω.

16 Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγεν· ᾔδει γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἀσίτους ὄντας· ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὀψὲ ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀπέκλινε, φυλαττόμενος μὴ δοκοίη φεύγειν, ἀλλ' εὐθύωρον ἄγων ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δυομένῳ εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κώμας τοὺς πρώτους ἔχων κατεσκήνωσεν, ἐξ ὧν διήρπαστο ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρα-
17 τεύματος καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ξύλα. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι ὅμως τρόπῳ τινὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, οἱ δὲ ὕστεροι σκοταῖοι προσιόντες ὡς ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστοι ηὐλίζοντο, καὶ κραυγὴν πολλὴν ἐποίουν καλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκούειν· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων. δῆλον
18 δὲ τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποζύγιον

effecting an escape, either by stealth or by speed; but fortune planned better. For when day came, they set out on the march, keeping the sun on their right and calculating that at sunset they would reach villages in Babylonia—and in this they were not disappointed. But while it was still afternoon they thought that they saw horsemen of the enemy; and such of the Greeks as chanced not to be in the lines proceeded to run to the lines, while Ariaeus, who was making the journey in a wagon because he was wounded, got down and put on his breastplate, and his attendants followed his example. While they were arming themselves, however, the scouts who had been sent ahead returned with the report that it was not horsemen, but pack animals grazing. Straightway everybody realized that the King was encamping somewhere in the neighbourhood—in fact, smoke was seen in villages not far away.

Clearchus, however, would not advance against the enemy, for he knew that his troops were not only tired out, but without food, and, besides, it was already late; still, he would not turn aside, either, for he was taking care to avoid the appearance of flight, but leading the army straight ahead he encamped with the van at sunset in the nearest villages, from which the King's army had plundered even the very timbers of the houses. The van nevertheless encamped after a fashion, but the men who were further back, coming up in the dark, had to bivouac each as best they could, and they made a great uproar with calling one another, so that the enemy also heard it; the result was that the nearest of the enemy actually took to flight from their quarters. This became clear on the

ἔτ' οὐδὲν ἐφάνη οὔτε στρατόπεδον οὔτε καπνὸς
οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. ἐξεπλάγη δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ
βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφόδῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἐδήλωσε
19 δὲ τοῦτο οἷς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπραττε. προϊούσης
μέντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι φόβος
ἐμπίπτει, καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δοῦπος ἦν οἷον εἰκὸς
20 φόβου ἐμπεσόντος γίγνεσθαι. Κλέαρχος δὲ Τολ-
μίδην Ἠλεῖον, ὃν ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ
κήρυκα ἄριστον τῶν τότε, ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε σιγὴν
κηρύξαντα ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὃς ἂν
τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ ὅπλα μηνύσῃ, ὅτι λήψε-
21 ται μισθὸν τάλαντον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκηρύχθη,
ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἴη καὶ
οἱ ἄρχοντες σῷοι. ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρῳ παρήγγειλεν ὁ
Κλέαρχος εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὅπλα τίθεσθαι τοὺς
Ἕλληνας ᾗπερ εἶχον ὅτε ἦν ἡ μάχη.

III. Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐξεπλάγη
τῇ ἐφόδῳ, τῷδε δῆλον ἦν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν
ἡμέρᾳ πέμπων τὰ ὅπλα παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε
δὲ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνατέλλοντι κήρυκας ἔπεμψε περὶ
2 σπονδῶν. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθον πρὸς τοὺς προφύλακας,
ἐζήτουν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον οἱ
προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος τυχὼν τότε τὰς τάξεις
ἐπισκοπῶν εἶπεν τοῖς προφύλαξι κελεύειν τοὺς
3 κήρυκας περιμένειν ἄχρι ἂν σχολάσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ
κατέστησε τὸ στράτευμα ὡς καλῶς ἔχειν[1] ὁρᾶ-
σθαι πάντῃ φάλαγγα πυκνήν, ἐκτὸς τῶν ὅπλων[2]
δὲ μηδένα καταφανῆ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀγγέλους,

[1] καλῶς ἔχειν MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Cobet.
[2] ἐκτὸς τῶν ὅπλων Gem., following Hug: ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων the better MSS.: τῶν ἀόπλων the inferior MSS.

following day, for not a pack animal was any more to be seen nor camp nor smoke anywhere near. Even the King, so it seems, was terrified by the approach of the army. He made this evident by what he did the next day. However, as the night went on a panic fell upon the Greeks also, and there was confusion and din of the sort that may be expected when panic has seized an army. Clearchus, however, directed Tolmides the Elean, who chanced to be with him as herald and was the best herald of his time, to make this proclamation, after he had ordered silence: "The commanders give public notice that whoever informs on the man who let the ass loose among the arms shall receive a reward of a talent of silver." When this proclamation had been made, the soldiers realized that their fears were groundless and their commanders safe. And at dawn Clearchus ordered the Greeks to get under arms in line of battle just as they were when the battle took place.

III. The fact which I just stated, that the King was terrified by the approach of the Greeks, was made clear by the following circumstance: although on the day before he had sent and ordered them to give up their arms, he now, at sunrise, sent heralds to negotiate a truce. When these heralds reached the outposts, they asked for the commanders. And when the outposts reported, Clearchus, who chanced at the time to be inspecting the ranks, told the outposts to direct the heralds to wait till he should be at leisure. Then after he had arranged the army so that it should present a fine appearance from every side as a compact phalanx, with no one to be seen outside the lines of the hoplites, he summoned

καὶ αὐτός τε προῆλθε τούς τε εὐοπλοτάτους ἔχων
καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν αὑτοῦ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῖς
4 ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταὐτὰ ἔφρασεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν
πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, ἀνηρώτα τί βούλοιντο. οἱ δ'
ἔλεγον ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν ἥκοιεν ἄνδρες οἵτινες
ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται τά τε παρὰ βασιλέως τοῖς Ἕλλη-
σιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
5 βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀπαγγέλλετε τοίνυν
αὐτῷ ὅτι μάχης δεῖ πρῶτον· ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ
ἔστιν οὐδ' ὁ τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν λέγειν τοῖς
6 Ἕλλησι μὴ πορίσας ἄριστον. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες
οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀπήλαυνον, καὶ ἧκον ταχύ· ᾧ καὶ
δῆλον ἦν ὅτι ἐγγύς που βασιλεὺς ἦν ἢ ἄλλος τις
ᾧ ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράττειν· ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι
εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἥκοιεν ἡγε-
μόνας ἔχοντες οἳ αὐτούς, ἐὰν σπονδαὶ γένωνται,
7 ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἕξουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ δὲ ἠρώτα
εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο τοῖς ἰοῦσι καὶ
ἀπιοῦσιν, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσοιντο σπονδαί. οἱ
δέ, Ἅπασιν, ἔφασαν, μέχρι ἂν βασιλεῖ τὰ παρ'
8 ὑμῶν διαγγελθῇ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον, μεταστη-
σάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ
ἐδόκει τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι ταχὺ καὶ καθ' ἡσυ-
9 χίαν ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ λαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ
Κλέαρχος εἶπε· Δοκεῖ μὲν κἀμοὶ ταῦτα· οὐ μέντοι
ταχύ γε ἀπαγγελῶ, ἀλλὰ διατρίψω ἔστ' ἂν
ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι μὴ ἀποδόξῃ ἡμῖν τὰς σπον-

the messengers; and he himself came forward with the best armed and best looking of his own troops and told the other generals to do likewise. Once face to face with the messengers, he inquired what they wanted. They replied that they had come to negotiate for a truce, and were empowered to report the King's proposals to the Greeks and the Greeks' proposals to the King. And Clearchus answered: "Report to him, then, that we must have a battle first; for we have had no breakfast, and there is no man alive who will dare to talk to Greeks about a truce unless he provides them with a breakfast." Upon hearing these words the messengers rode away, but were speedily back again, which made it evident that the King, or someone else who had been charged with carrying on these negotiations, was somewhere near. They stated that what the Greeks said seemed to the King reasonable, and that they had now brought guides with them who would lead the Greeks, in case a truce should be concluded, to a place where they could get provisions. Thereupon Clearchus asked whether he was making a truce merely with the men who were coming and going, or whether the truce would bind the others also. "Every man of them," they replied, "until your message is carried to the King." When they had said this, Clearchus had them retire and took counsel about the matter; and it was thought best to conclude the truce speedily, so that they could go and get the provisions without being molested. And Clearchus said: "I, too, agree with this view; nevertheless, I shall not so report at once, but I shall delay until the messengers get fearful of our deciding not to conclude the truce;

δὰς ποιήσασθαι· οἶμαί γε μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς
ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσε-
σθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι
σπένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς
τἀπιτήδεια.
10 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγοῦντο, Κλέαρχος μέντοι ἐπορεύετο
τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα
ἔχων ἐν τάξει, καὶ αὐτὸς ὠπισθοφυλάκει. καὶ
ἐνετύγχανον τάφροις καὶ αὐλῶσιν ὕδατος πλή-
ρεσιν, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν ἄνευ γεφυρῶν·
ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο διαβάσεις ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων οἳ
11 ἦσαν[1] ἐκπεπτωκότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον. καὶ
ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμαθεῖν ὡς ἐπεστάτει,
ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ
δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν· καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ δοκοίη τῶν
πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος
τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔπαισεν ἄν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς προσε-
λάμβανεν εἰς τὸν πηλὸν ἐμβαίνων· ὥστε πᾶσιν
12 αἰσχύνην εἶναι μὴ οὐ συσπουδάζειν. καὶ ἐτάχθη-
σαν πρὸς αὐτὸ οἱ εἰς τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες·
ἐπεὶ δὲ Κλέαρχον ἑώρων σπουδάζοντα, προσε-
13 λάμβανον καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον
ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔσπευδεν, ὑποπτεύων μὴ αἰεὶ οὕτω
πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὥρα
οἵα τὸ πεδίον ἄρδειν· ἀλλ' ἵνα ἤδη πολλὰ προ-
φαίνοιτο τοῖς Ἕλλησι δεινὰ εἰς τὴν πορείαν,
τούτου ἕνεκα βασιλέα ὑπώπτευεν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον
τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεικέναι.

[1] ἦσαν MSS.: ηὑρίσκοντο Gem.

to be sure," he said, "I suppose that our own soldiers will also feel the same fear." When, accordingly, it seemed that the proper time had come, he reported that he accepted the truce, and directed them to lead the way immediately to the provisions.

They proceeded, then, to lead the way, but Clearchus, although he had made the truce, kept his army in line of battle on the march, and commanded the rearguard himself. And they kept coming upon trenches and canals, full of water, which could not be crossed without bridges. They made bridges of a kind, however, out of the palm trees which had fallen and others which they cut down themselves. And here one could well observe how Clearchus commanded; he had his spear in his left hand and in his right a stick, and whenever he thought that anyone of the men assigned to this task was shirking, he would pick out the right man and deal him a blow, while at the same time he would get into the mud and lend a hand himself; the result was that everyone was ashamed not to match him in energy. The men detailed to the work were all those up to thirty years of age, but the older men also took hold when they saw Clearchus in such energetic haste. Now Clearchus was in a far greater hurry because he suspected that the trenches were not always full of water in this way, for it was not a proper time to be irrigating the plain; his suspicion was, then, that the King had let the water into the plain just in order that the Greeks might have before their eyes at the very start many things to make them fearful about their journey.

14 Πορευόμενοι δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς κώμας ὅθεν ἀπέ-
δειξαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
ἐνῆν δὲ σῖτος πολὺς καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων καὶ ὄξος
15 ἑψητὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ βάλανοι
τῶν φοινίκων οἵας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔστιν
ἰδεῖν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο, αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις
ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θαυμάσιαι τοῦ
κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους, ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἠλέκτρου οὐδὲν
διέφερεν· τὰς δέ τινας ξηραίνοντες τραγήματα
ἀπετίθεσαν. καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον ἡδὺ μέν,
16 κεφαλαλγὲς δέ. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ
φοίνικος πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ οἱ
πολλοὶ ἐθαύμασαν τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν ἰδιότητα
τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἦν δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαλγές.
ὁ δὲ φοῖνιξ ὅθεν ἐξαιρεθείη ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ὅλος
ηὑαίνετο.

17 Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ παρὰ
μεγάλου βασιλέως ἧκε Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς
βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι
τρεῖς· δοῦλοι δὲ πολλοὶ εἵποντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήν-
τησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, ἔλεγε
18 πρῶτος Τισσαφέρνης δι' ἑρμηνέως τοιάδε. Ἐγώ,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, γείτων οἰκῶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ
ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς εἶδον εἰς πολλὰ καὶ ἀμήχανα πε-
πτωκότας, εὕρημα ἐποιησάμην εἴ πως δυναίμην
παρὰ βασιλέως αἰτήσασθαι δοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἀποσῶσαι
ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀχαρί-
στως μοι ἔχειν οὔτε πρὸς ὑμῶν οὔτε πρὸς τῆς
19 πάσης Ἑλλάδος. ταῦτα δὲ γνοὺς ᾐτούμην

The march at length brought them to villages where the guides directed them to get provisions. In these villages was grain in abundance and palm wine and a sour drink made from the same by boiling. As for the dates themselves of the palm, the sort that one can see in Greece were set apart for the servants, while those laid away for the masters were selected ones, remarkable for their beauty and size and with a colour altogether resembling that of amber; others, again, they would dry and store away for sweetmeats. These made a pleasant morsel also at a symposium, but were apt to cause headache. Here also the soldiers ate for the first time the crown of the palm, and most of them were surprised not alone at its appearance, but at the peculiar nature of its flavour. This, too, however, was exceedingly apt to cause headache. And when the crown was removed from a palm, the whole tree would wither.

In these villages they remained three days; and there came to them, as messengers from the Great King, Tissaphernes and the brother of the King's wife and three other Persians; and many slaves followed in their train. When the Greek generals met them, Tissaphernes, through an interpreter, began the speaking with the following words: "Men of Greece, in my own home I am a neighbour of yours, and when I saw you plunged into many difficulties, I thought it would be a piece of good fortune if I could in any way gain permission from the King to take you back safe to Greece. For I fancy I should not go without thanks, both from you and from all Greece. After reaching this conclusion

βασιλέα, λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι δικαίως ἄν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐτῷ Κῦρόν τε ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἤγγειλα καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἅμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμην, καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ διήλασα καὶ συνέμειξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἔνθα βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν Κύρῳ βαρβάρους ἐδίωξε σὺν τοῖσδε τοῖς παροῦσι νῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἵπερ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι.
20 καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλεύσεσθαι· ἐρέσθαι δέ με ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευεν ἐλθόντα τίνος ἕνεκεν ἐστρατεύσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ᾖ ἐάν τι δύνωμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι.

21 Πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεγεν· Ἡμεῖς οὔτε συνήλθομεν ὡς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσοντες οὔτε ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κῦρος ηὕρισκεν, ὡς καὶ σὺ εὖ οἶσθα, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκεύους λάβοι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε
22 ἀγάγοι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤδη αὐτὸν ἑωρῶμεν ἐν δεινῷ ὄντα, ᾐσχύνθημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προδοῦναι αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέ-
23 χοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κῦρος τέθνηκεν, οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἀντιποιούμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς οὔτ' ἔστιν ὅτου ἕνεκα βουλοίμεθα ἂν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἂν

I presented my request to the King, saying to him that it would be fair for him to do me a favour, because I was the first to report to him that Cyrus was marching against him, because along with my report I brought him aid also, and because I was the only man among those posted opposite the Greeks who did not take to flight, but, on the contrary, I charged through and joined forces with the King in your camp, where the King had arrived after slaying Cyrus and pursuing the barbarians of Cyrus' army with the help of these men now present with me, men who are most faithful to the King. And he promised me that he would consider this request of mine, but, meanwhile, he bade me come and ask you for what reason you took the field against him. Now I advise you to answer with moderation, that so it may be easier for me to obtain for you at his hands whatever good thing I may be able to obtain."

Hereupon the Greeks withdrew and proceeded to take counsel; then they gave their answer, Clearchus acting as spokesman: "We neither gathered together with the intention of making war upon the King nor were we marching against the King, but Cyrus kept finding many pretexts, as you also are well aware, in order that he might take you unprepared and bring us hither. When, however, the time came when we saw that he was in danger, we felt ashamed in the sight of gods and men to desert him, seeing that in former days we had been putting ourselves in the way of being benefited by him. But since Cyrus is dead, we are neither contending with the King for his realm nor is there any reason why we should desire to do harm to the King's territory or wish to slay the King himself, but rather

ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν οἴκαδε, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς
μὴ λυποίη· ἀδικοῦντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν
τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύνασθαι· ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ
ποιῶν ὑπάρχῃ, καὶ τούτου εἴς γε δύναμιν οὐχ
24 ἡττησόμεθα εὖ ποιοῦντες. ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν·
ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης Ταῦτα, ἔφη, ἐγὼ
ἀπαγγελῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑμῖν πάλιν τὰ παρ'
ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἥκω αἱ σπονδαὶ μενόντων·
ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν.
25 Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἧκεν· ὥσθ' οἱ
Ἕλληνες ἐφρόντιζον· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἥκων ἔλεγεν
ὅτι διαπεπραγμένος ἥκοι παρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι
αὐτῷ σῴζειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καίπερ πολλῶν
ἀντιλεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον εἴη βασιλεῖ ἀφεῖναι
26 τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατευσαμένους. τέλος δὲ εἶπε·
Καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πιστὰ λαβεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἦ
μὴν φιλίαν παρέξειν ὑμῖν τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀδόλως
ἀπάξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀγορὰν παρέχοντας·
ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ ᾖ πρίασθαι, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς
27 χώρας ἐάσομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ὑμᾶς δὲ αὖ ἡμῖν
δεήσει ὀμόσαι ἦ μὴν πορεύσεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας
ἀσινῶς σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας ὁπόταν μὴ
ἀγορὰν παρέχωμεν· ἢν δὲ παρέχωμεν ἀγοράν,
28 ὠνουμένους ἕξειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ
ὤμοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδοσαν Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς
βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν

we should return to our homes, if no one should molest us. If, however, anyone seeks to injure us, we shall try with the help of the gods to retaliate. On the other hand, if anyone is kind enough to do us a service, we shall not, so far as we have the power, be outdone in doing a service to him." So he spoke, and upon hearing his words Tissaphernes said: "This message I shall carry to the King, and bring back his to you; and until I return, let the truce continue, and we will provide a market.[1]"

The next day he did not return, and the Greeks, consequently, were anxious; but on the third day he came and said that he had secured permission from the King to save the Greeks, although many opposed the plan, urging that it was not fitting for the King to allow those who had undertaken a campaign against him to escape. In conclusion he said: "And now you may receive pledges from us that in very truth the territory you pass through shall be friendly and that we will lead you back to Greece without treachery, providing you with a market; and wherever it is impossible to buy provisions, we will allow you to take them from the country. And you, on your side, will have to swear to us that in very truth you will proceed as you would through a friendly country, doing no damage and taking food and drink from the country only when we do not provide a market, but that, if we do provide a market, you will obtain provisions by purchase." This was resolved upon, and Tissaphernes and the brother of the King's wife made oath and gave their right hands in pledge to the generals and captains of the Greeks, receiving the same also from the Greeks.

[1] See note on I. ii. 18.

29 Ἑλλήνων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης εἶπε· Νῦν μὲν δὴ ἄπειμι ὡς βασιλέα· ἐπειδὰν δὲ διαπράξωμαι ἃ δέομαι, ἥξω συσκευασάμενος ὡς ἀπάξων ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἀρχήν.

IV. Μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρνην οἵ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς Ἀριαῖον καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινες, παρεθάρρυνόν[1] τε καὶ δεξιὰς ἐνίοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον μὴ μνησικακήσειν βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας μηδὲ ἄλλου μηδενὸς τῶν παροιχομένων.
2 τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἔνδηλοι ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ἀριαῖον ἧττον προσέχοντες τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν νοῦν· ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἤρεσκον, ἀλλὰ προσιόντες τῷ
3 Κλεάρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς· Τί μένομεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι ἂν περὶ παντὸς ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι φόβος εἴη ἐπὶ βασιλέα μέγαν στρατεύειν; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται μένειν διὰ τὸ διεσπάρθαι αὐτοῦ τὸ στράτευμα· ἐπὴν δὲ πάλιν ἁλισθῇ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιά, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως
4 οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν. ἴσως δέ που ἢ ἀποσκάπτει τι ἢ ἀποτειχίζει, ὡς ἄπορος ᾖ ἡ ὁδός. οὐ γάρ ποτε ἑκών γε βουλήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι ὡς ἡμεῖς τοσοίδε ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν.

[1] Before παρεθάρρυνον Mar., following Rehdantz, inserts οἱ.

After this Tissaphernes said: "Now I am going back to the King; but when I have accomplished what I desire, I shall return, fully equipped to conduct you back to Greece and to go home myself to my own province."

IV. After this the Greeks and Ariaeus, encamped close by one another, waited for Tissaphernes more than twenty days. During this time Ariaeus' brothers and other relatives came to him and certain Persians came to his followers, and they kept encouraging them and bringing pledges to some of them from the King that the King would bear them no ill-will because of their campaign with Cyrus against him or because of anything else in the past. While these things were going on, it was evident that Ariaeus and his followers paid less regard to the Greeks; this, accordingly, was another reason why the greater part of the Greeks were not pleased with them, and they would go to Clearchus and the other generals and say: "Why are we lingering? Do we not understand that the King would like above everything else to destroy us, in order that the rest of the Greeks also may be afraid to march against the Great King? For the moment he is scheming to keep us here because his army is scattered, but when he has collected his forces again, there is no question but that he will attack us. Or perhaps he is digging a trench or building a wall somewhere to cut us off and make our road impassable. For never, if he can help it, will he choose to let us go back to Greece and report that we, few as we are, were victorious over the King at his very gates, and then laughed in his face and came home again." To those

5 Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγου-
σιν· Ἐγὼ ἐνθυμοῦμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα·
ἐννοῶ δ᾽ ὅτι εἰ νῦν ἄπιμεν, δόξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ
ἀπιέναι καὶ παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖν. ἔπειτα
πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορὰν οὐδεὶς παρέξει ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ὅθεν
ἐπισιτιούμεθα· αὖθις δὲ ὁ ἡγησόμενος οὐδεὶς
ἔσται· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα ποιούντων ἡμῶν εὐθὺς
Ἀριαῖος ἀφεστήξει·[1] ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς
λελείψεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν ὄντες πολέμιοι
6 ἡμῖν ἔσονται. ποταμὸς δ᾽ εἰ μέν τις καὶ ἄλλος
ἄρα ἡμῖν ἐστι διαβατέος οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν δ᾽ οὖν
Εὐφράτην οἴδαμεν[2] ὅτι ἀδύνατον διαβῆναι κω-
λυόντων πολεμίων. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἂν μάχεσθαί γε
δέῃ, ἱππεῖς εἰσιν ἡμῖν ξύμμαχοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων
ἱππεῖς εἰσι πλεῖστοι[3] καὶ πλείστου ἄξιοι· ὥστε
νικῶντες μὲν τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν; ἡττωμένων
7 δὲ οὐδένα οἷόν τε σωθῆναι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασιλέα,
ᾧ οὕτω πολλά ἐστι τὰ σύμμαχα, εἴπερ προθυ-
μεῖται ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι δεῖ αὐτὸν
ὀμόσαι καὶ δεξιὰν δοῦναι καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιορκῆσαι
καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πιστὰ ἄπιστα ποιῆσαι Ἕλλησί τε
καὶ βαρβάροις. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν.
8 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἧκε Τισσαφέρνης ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
δύναμιν ὡς εἰς οἶκον ἀπιὼν καὶ Ὀρόντας τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν· ἦγε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν
9 βασιλέως ἐπὶ γάμῳ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἤδη Τισσα-

[1] ἀφεστήξει the inferior MSS., Mar.: the better MSS. have ἀποσταίη, which Gem. adopts, inserting ἂν after ἅμα, with Rehdantz.

[2] οἴδαμεν the better MSS., Gem.: ἴσμεν the inferior MSS., Mar.

[3] Before πλεῖστοι the MSS. have οἱ: Gem. brackets, following Carnuth.

who talked in this way Clearchus replied: "I too have in mind all these things; but I reflect that if we go away now, it will seem that we are going away with hostile intent and are acting in violation of the truce. And then, in the first place, no one will provide us a market or a place from which we can get provisions; secondly, we shall have no one to guide us; again, the moment we take this course Ariaeus will instantly desert us; consequently we shall have not a friend left, for even those who were friends before will be our enemies. Then remember the rivers—there may be others, for aught I know, that we must cross, but we know about the Euphrates at any rate, that it cannot possibly be crossed in the face of an enemy. Furthermore, in case fighting becomes necessary, we have no cavalry to help us, whereas the enemy's cavalry are exceedingly numerous and exceedingly efficient; hence if we are victorious, whom could we kill [1]? And if we are defeated, not one of us can be saved. For my part, therefore, I cannot see why the King, who has so many advantages on his side, should need, in case he is really eager to destroy us, to make oath and give pledge and forswear himself by the gods and make his good faith unfaithful in the eyes of Greeks and barbarians." Such arguments Clearchus would present in abundance.

Meanwhile Tissaphernes returned with his own forces as if intending to go back home, and likewise Orontas [2] with his forces; the latter was also taking home the King's daughter as his wife. Then they

[1] Hoplites, because of their heavy equipment, were ineffective in a pursuit, especially when an enemy fled, as in "the battle" of I. viii., long before they were within striking distance. Horsemen, of course, were at their best in following up a routed enemy.

[2] Satrap of Armenia.

φέρνους ἡγουμένου καὶ ἀγορὰν παρέχοντος ἐπο-
ρεύοντο· ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ Ἀριαῖος τὸ Κύρου
βαρβαρικὸν ἔχων στράτευμα ἅμα Τισσαφέρνει
καὶ Ὀρόντᾳ καὶ ξυνεστρατοπεδεύετο σὺν ἐκείνοις.
10 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὑφορῶντες τούτους αὐτοὶ ἐφ᾽
ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες. ἐστρατο-
πεδεύοντο δὲ ἑκάστοτε ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων
παρασάγγην καὶ πλεῖον· ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ ἀμφό-
τεροι ὥσπερ πολεμίους ἀλλήλους, καὶ εὐθὺς
11 τοῦτο ὑποψίαν παρεῖχεν. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ξυλιζό-
μενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ χόρτον καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα
12 ξυλλέγοντες πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον ἀλλήλοις· ὥστε
καὶ τοῦτο ἔχθραν παρεῖχε.

Διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς σταθμοὺς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς
τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος, καὶ παρῆλθον εἴσω[1]
αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ᾠκοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἐν
ἀσφάλτῳ κειμέναις, εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν, ὕψος δὲ
ἑκατόν· μῆκος δ᾽ ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἴκοσι παρα-
13 σάγγαι· ἀπέχει δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολύ. ἐντεῦθεν
δ᾽ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας ὀκτώ·
καὶ διέβησαν διώρυχας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ γεφύρας,
τὴν δὲ ἐζευγμένην πλοίοις ἑπτά· αὗται δ᾽ ἦσαν
ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ· κατετέτμηντο δὲ ἐξ
αὐτῶν καὶ τάφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αἱ μὲν πρῶται
μεγάλαι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐλάττους· τέλος δὲ καὶ μικροὶ
ὀχετοί, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελίνας.

Καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν·
πρὸς ᾧ πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος ᾗ
ὄνομα Σιττάκη, ἀπέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίους
14 πεντεκαίδεκα. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες παρ᾽ αὐτὴν

[1] εἴσω MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Rehdantz.

finally began the march, Tissaphernes taking the lead and providing a market; and Ariaeus with Cyrus' barbarian army kept with Tissaphernes and Orontas on the march and encamped with them. The Greeks, however, viewing them all with suspicion, proceeded by themselves, with their own guides. And the two parties encamped in every case a parasang or more from one another, and kept guard each against the other, as though against enemies—a fact which at once occasioned suspicion. Sometimes, moreover, when Greeks and barbarians were getting firewood from the same place or collecting fodder or other such things, they would come to blows with one another, and this also occasioned ill-will.

After travelling three stages they reached the so-called wall of Media,[1] and passed within it. It was built of baked bricks, laid in asphalt, and was twenty feet wide and a hundred feet high; its length was said to be twenty parasangs, and it is not far distant from Babylon. From there they proceeded two stages, eight parasangs, crossing on their way two canals, one by a stationary bridge and the other by a bridge made of seven boats. These canals issued from the Tigris river, and from them, again, ditches had been cut that ran into the country, at first large, then smaller, and finally little channels, such as run to the millet fields in Greece.

Then they reached the Tigris river, near which was a large and populous city named Sittace, fifteen stadia from the river. The Greeks accordingly

[1] See note on I. vii. 15. The Greeks had twice already, once on the advance and again on the retreat, crossed the original line of this wall. Now, turning to the eastward (see the map), they reach it at a point where it is still standing, and pass "within it," *i.e.* to the south-eastern, or Babylonian, side of it.

ἐσκήνησαν ἐγγὺς παραδείσου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ
καὶ δασέος παντοίων δένδρων, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι
διαβεβηκότες τὸν Τίγρητα· οὐ μέντοι καταφανεῖς
15 ἦσαν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ
ὄντες πρὸ τῶν ὅπλων Πρόξενος καὶ Ξενοφῶν· καὶ
προσελθὼν ἄνθρωπός τις ἠρώτησε τοὺς προφύ-
λακας ποῦ ἂν ἴδοι Πρόξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον· Μέ-
νωνα δὲ οὐκ ἐζήτει, καὶ ταῦτα παρ' Ἀριαίου ὢν
16 τοῦ Μένωνος ξένου. ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρόξενος εἶπεν ὅτι
αὐτός εἰμι ὃν ζητεῖς, εἶπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τάδε.
Ἔπεμψέ με Ἀριαῖος καὶ Ἀρτάοζος, πιστοὶ ὄντες
Κύρῳ καὶ ὑμῖν εὖνοι, καὶ κελεύουσι φυλάττεσθαι
μὴ ὑμῖν ἐπιθῶνται τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι· ἔστι
δὲ στράτευμα πολὺ ἐν τῷ πλησίον παραδείσῳ.
17 καὶ παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ
πέμψαι κελεύουσι φυλακήν, ὡς διανοεῖται αὐτὴν
λῦσαι Τισσαφέρνης τῆς νυκτός, ἐὰν δύνηται, ὡς
μὴ διαβῆτε ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῆτε τοῦ ποτα-
18 μοῦ καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἄγουσιν
αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Κλέαρχον καὶ φράζουσιν ἃ λέγει.
ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἀκούσας ἐταράχθη σφόδρα καὶ
ἐφοβεῖτο.

19 Νεανίσκος δέ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐννοήσας εἶπεν
ὡς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα εἴη τὸ ἐπιθήσεσθαι καὶ τὸ
λύσειν τὴν γέφυραν. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιθεμένους
ἢ νικᾶν δεήσει ἢ ἡττᾶσθαι. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν νικῶσι,
τί δεῖ λύειν αὐτοὺς τὴν γέφυραν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν
πολλαὶ γέφυραι ὦσιν ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὅποι φυγόντες
20 ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν. ἐὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης

encamped beside this city, near a large and beautiful park, thickly covered with all sorts of trees, while the barbarians had crossed the Tigris before encamping, and were not within sight of the Greeks. After the evening meal Proxenus and Xenophon chanced to be walking in front of the place where the arms were stacked, when a man came up and asked the outposts where he could see Proxenus or Clearchus—he did not ask for Menon, despite the fact that he came from Ariaeus, Menon's friend. And when Proxenus said "I am the one you are looking for," the man made this statement: "I was sent here by Ariaeus and Artaozus, who were faithful to Cyrus and are friendly to you; they bid you be on your guard lest the barbarians attack you during the night, for there is a large army in the neighbouring park. They also bid you send a guard to the bridge over the Tigris river, because Tissaphernes intends to destroy it during the night, if he can, so that you may not cross, but may be cut off between the river and the canal." Upon hearing these words they took him to Clearchus and repeated his message. And when Clearchus heard it, he was exceedingly agitated and full of fear.

A young man who was present, however, fell to thinking, and then said that the two stories, that they intended to attack and intended to destroy the bridge, were not consistent. "For it is clear," he went on, "that if they attack, they must either be victorious or be defeated. Now if they are victorious, why should they need to destroy the bridge? For even if there were many bridges, we should have no place to which we could flee and save ourselves. But if it is we who are victorious, with the bridge destroyed

τῆς γεφύρας οὐχ ἕξουσιν ἐκεῖνοι ὅποι φύγωσιν·
οὐδὲ μὴν βοηθῆσαι πολλῶν ὄντων πέραν οὐδεὶς
αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας.

21 Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ἤρετο τὸν
ἄγγελον πόση τις εἴη χώρα ἡ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ
Τίγρητος καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι πολλὴ
καὶ κῶμαι ἔνεισι καὶ πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι.
22 τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄν-
θρωπον ὑποπέμψαιεν, ὀκνοῦντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες
διελόντες τὴν γέφυραν μείναιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ
ἐρύματα ἔχοντες ἔνθεν μὲν τὸν Τίγρητα, ἔνθεν
δὲ τὴν διώρυχα· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἐν
μέσῳ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς οὔσης καὶ τῶν
ἐργασομένων ἐνόντων· εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἀποστροφὴ
γένοιτο εἴ τις βούλοιτο βασιλέα κακῶς ποιεῖν.

23 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνεπαύοντο· ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν
γέφυραν ὅμως φυλακὴν ἔπεμψαν· καὶ οὔτε
ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς οὐδαμόθεν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν
οὐδεὶς ἦλθε τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς οἱ φυλάττοντες
24 ἀπήγγελλον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἕως ἐγένετο, διέβαινον
τὴν γέφυραν ἐζευγμένην πλοίοις τριάκοντα καὶ
ἑπτὰ ὡς οἷόν τε μάλιστα πεφυλαγμένως· ἐξήγ-
γελλον γάρ τινες τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Ἑλ-
λήνων ὡς διαβαινόντων μέλλοιεν ἐπιθήσεσθαι.
ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ψευδῆ ἦν· διαβαινόντων μέντοι
ὁ Γλοῦς ἐπεφάνη μετ' ἄλλων σκοπῶν εἰ δια-
βαίνοιεν τὸν ποταμόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδεν, ᾤχετο
ἀπελαύνων.

25 Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς

they will have no place to which they can flee. And, furthermore, though there are troops in abundance on the other side, no one will be able to come to their aid with the bridge destroyed."

After hearing these words Clearchus asked the messenger about how extensive the territory between the Tigris and the canal was. He replied that it was a large tract, and that there were villages and many large towns in it. Then it was perceived that the barbarians had sent the man with a false message out of fear that the Greeks might destroy the bridge and establish themselves permanently on the island, with the Tigris for a defence on one side and the canal on the other; in that case, they thought, the Greeks might get provisions from the territory between the river and the canal, since it was extensive and fertile and there were men in it to cultivate it; and furthermore, the spot might also become a place of refuge for anyone who might desire to do harm to the King.

After this the Greeks went to rest, yet they did, nevertheless, send a guard to the bridge; and no one attacked the army from any quarter, nor did anyone of the enemy, so the men on guard reported, come to the bridge. When dawn came, they proceeded to cross the bridge, which was made of thirty-seven boats, as guardedly as possible; for they had reports from some of the Greeks who were with Tissaphernes that the enemy would attack them while they were crossing. But these reports were false. To be sure, in the course of their passage Glus did appear, with some others, watching to see if they were crossing the river, but once he had seen, he went riding off.

From the Tigris they marched four stages, twenty

τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκον
ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου· ἐπῆν δὲ γέφυρα. καὶ
ἐνταῦθα ᾠκεῖτο πόλις μεγάλη ὄνομα Ὦπις· πρὸς
ἣν ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρτα-
ξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφὸς ἀπὸ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατά-
νων στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἄγων ὡς βοηθήσων βασιλεῖ·
καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα παρερχο-
26 μένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐθεώρει. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος
ἡγεῖτο μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἄλλοτε καὶ
ἄλλοτε ἐφιστάμενος· ὅσον δὲ χρόνον τὸ ἡγούμενον
τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιστήσειε, τοσοῦτον ἦν
ἀνάγκη χρόνον δι' ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος γί-
γνεσθαι τὴν ἐπίστασιν· ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ
αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἕλλησι δόξαι πάμπολυ εἶναι, καὶ
27 τὸν Πέρσην ἐκπεπλῆχθαι θεωροῦντα. ἐντεῦθεν
δ' ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Μηδίας σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους
ἓξ παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς τὰς Παρυσάτιδος
κώμας τῆς Κύρου καὶ βασιλέως μητρός. ταύτας
Τισσαφέρνης Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελῶν διαρπάσαι τοῖς
Ἕλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. ἐνῆν δὲ
σῖτος πολὺς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα.
28 ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τέτ-
ταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν
ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ
πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλις ᾠκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ
εὐδαίμων ὄνομα Καιναί, ἐξ ἧς οἱ βάρβαροι διῆγον
ἐπὶ σχεδίαις διφθερίναις ἄρτους, τυρούς, οἶνον.

V. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Ζαπάταν
ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. καὶ ἐνταῦθα
ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὑποψίαι μὲν
ἦσαν, φανερὰ δὲ οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο ἐπιβουλή.

parasangs, to the Physcus river, which was a plethrum in width and had a bridge over it. There was situated a large city named Opis, near which the Greeks met the bastard brother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, who was leading a large army from Susa and Ecbatana to the support, as he said, of the King; and he halted his own army and watched the Greeks as they passed by. Clearchus led them two abreast, and halted now and then in his march; and whatever the length of time for which he halted the van of the army, just so long a time the halt would necessarily last through the entire army; the result was that even to the Greeks themselves their army seemed to be very large, and the Persian was astounded as he watched them. From there they marched through Media, six desert stages, thirty parasangs, to the villages of Parysatis,[1] the mother of Cyrus and the King. And Tissaphernes, by way of insulting Cyrus,[2] gave over these villages—save only the slaves they contained—to the Greeks to plunder. In them there was grain in abundance and cattle and other property. From there they marched four desert stages, twenty parasangs, keeping the Tigris river on the left. Across the river on the first stage was situated a large and prosperous city named Caenae, from which the barbarians brought over loaves, cheeses and wine, crossing upon rafts made of skins.

V. After this they reached the Zapatas river, which was four plethra in width. There they remained three days. During this time suspicions were rife, it is true, but no plot came openly to light.

[1] *cp.* I. iv. 9.

[2] *i.e.* through the mother who "loved him better than her reigning son Artaxerxes" (I. i. 4).

2 ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ξυγγενέσθαι τῷ Τισσα-
φέρνει καὶ εἴ πως δύναιτο παῦσαι τὰς ὑποψίας
πρὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι· καὶ ἔπεμψέ
τινα ἐροῦντα ὅτι ξυγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ χρῄζει. ὁ δὲ
ἑτοίμως ἐκέλευεν ἥκειν.
3 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ξυνῆλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλέαρχος τάδε.
Ἐγώ, ὦ Τισσαφέρνη, οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὅρκους
γεγενημένους καὶ δεξιὰς δεδομένας μὴ ἀδικήσειν
ἀλλήλους· φυλαττόμενον δὲ σέ τε ὁρῶ ὡς πολε-
μίους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρῶντες ταῦτα ἀντιφυλαττό-
4 μεθα. ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐ δύναμαι οὔτε σὲ
αἰσθέσθαι πειρώμενον ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐγώ τε
σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε οὐδὲ ἐπινοοῦμεν τοιοῦτον
οὐδέν, ἔδοξέ μοι εἰς λόγους σοι ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως εἰ
δυναίμεθα ἐξέλοιμεν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀπιστίαν.
5 καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ἀνθρώπους ἤδη τοὺς μὲν ἐκ διαβολῆς
τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας ὅτι[1] φοβηθέντες ἀλλή-
λους φθάσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν ἐποίησαν
ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τοὺς οὔτε μέλλοντας οὔτ᾽ αὖ
6 βουλομένους τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας
ἀγνωμοσύνας νομίζων συνουσίαις μάλιστα παύ-
εσθαι ἥκω καὶ διδάσκειν σε βούλομαι ὡς σὺ ἡμῖν
7 οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μέ-
γιστον οἱ θεῶν ἡμᾶς ὅρκοι κωλύουσι πολεμίους
εἶναι ἀλλήλοις· ὅστις δὲ τούτων σύνοιδεν αὑτῷ
παρημεληκώς, τοῦτον ἐγὼ οὔποτ᾽ ἂν εὐδαιμονί-
σαιμι. τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα οὔτ᾽[2] ἀπὸ
ποίου ἂν τάχους οὔτε ὅποι ἄν τις φεύγων ἀπο-

[1] ὅτι Gem., following Schenkl: οἱ MSS.
[2] οὐκ οἶδα οὔτ᾽ the inferior MSS., Mar.: οὐκ οἶδα the better MSS.: οὔτ᾽ οἶδα Gem.

Clearchus resolved, therefore, to have a meeting with Tissaphernes and put a stop to these suspicions, if he possibly could, before hostilities resulted from them; so he sent a messenger to say that he desired to meet him. And Tissaphernes readily bade him come.

When they had met, Clearchus spoke as follows: "I know, to be sure, Tissaphernes, that both of us have taken oaths and given pledges not to injure one another; yet I see that you are on your guard against us as though we were enemies, and we, observing this, are keeping guard on our side. But since, upon inquiry, I am unable to ascertain that you are trying to do us harm, and am perfectly sure that we, for our part, are not even thinking of any such thing against you, I resolved to have an interview with you, so that, if possible, we might dispel this mutual distrust. For I know that there have been cases before now—some of them the result of slander, others of mere suspicion—where men who have become fearful of one another and wished to strike before they were struck, have done irreparable harm to people who were neither intending nor, for that matter, desiring to do anything of the sort to them. In the belief, then, that such misunderstandings are best settled by conference, I have come here, and I wish to point out to you that you are mistaken in distrusting us. For, first and chiefly, our oaths, sworn by the gods, stand in the way of our being enemies of one another; and the man who is conscious that he has disregarded such oaths, I for my part should never account happy. For in war with the gods I know not either by what swiftness of foot or to what place of refuge one could make his escape, or into what darkness

φύγοι οὔτ' εἰς ποῖον ἂν σκότος ἀποδραίη οὔθ' ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀποσταίη. πάντῃ γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς ὕποχα καὶ πάντων ἴσον οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦσι.

8 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν[1] ὅρκων οὕτω γιγνώσκω, παρ' οὓς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν συνθέμενοι κατεθέμεθα· τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων σὲ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ 9 παρόντι νομίζω μέγιστον εἶναι ἡμῖν ἀγαθόν. σὺν μὲν γὰρ σοὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὁδὸς εὔπορος, πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς διαβατός, τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορία· ἄνευ δὲ σοῦ πᾶσα μὲν διὰ σκότους ἡ ὁδός· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐπιστάμεθα· πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δύσπορος, πᾶς δὲ ὄχλος φοβερός, φοβερώτατον δ' ἐρημία· 10 μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτείναιμεν, ἄλλο τι ἂν ἢ τὸν εὐεργέτην κατακτείναντες πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν μέγιστον ἔφεδρον ἀγωνιζοίμεθα[2]; ὅσων δὲ δὴ καὶ οἵων ἂν ἐλπίδων ἐμαυτὸν στερήσαιμι, εἴ σέ τι 11 κακὸν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα λέξω. ἐγὼ γὰρ Κῦρον ἐπεθύμησά μοι φίλον γενέσθαι, νομίζων τῶν τότε ἱκανώτατον εἶναι εὖ ποιεῖν ὃν βούλοιτο· σὲ δὲ νῦν ὁρῶ τήν τε Κύρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν σαυτοῦ σῴζοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλέως δύναμιν, ᾗ Κῦρος πολεμίᾳ ἐχρῆτο, σοὶ 12 ταύτην ξύμμαχον οὖσαν. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων τίς οὕτω μαίνεται ὅστις οὐ βούλεται σοὶ φίλος εἶναι;

Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ὧν ἔχω ἐλπίδας καὶ σὲ βουλήσεσθαι φίλον ἡμῖν εἶναι.

[1] τε καὶ τῶν MSS.: Gem. brackets.

[2] ἀγωνιζοίμεθα the inferior MSS., Mar.: πολεμήσομεν the better MSS., which Gem. follows, bracketing ἂν above.

he could steal away, or how he could withdraw himself to a secure fortress. For all things in all places are subject to the gods, and all alike the gods hold in their control.

"Touching the gods, then, and our oaths I am thus minded, and to the keeping of the gods we consigned the friendship which we covenanted; but as for things human, I believe that at this time you are to us the greatest good we possess.. For, with you, every road is easy for us to traverse, every river is passable, supplies are not lacking; without you, all our road is through darkness—for none of it do we know—every river is hard to pass, every crowd excites our fears, and most fearful of all is solitude—for it is crowded full of want. And if we should, in fact, be seized with madness and slay you, should we not certainly, after slaying our benefactor, be engaged in contest with the King, a fresh and most powerful opponent?[1] Again, how great and bright are the hopes of which I should rob myself if I attempted to do you any harm, I will relate to you. I set my heart upon having Cyrus for my friend because I thought that he was the best able of all the men of his time to benefit whom he pleased; but now I see that it is you who possess Cyrus' power and territory, while retaining your own besides, and that the power of the King, which Cyrus found hostile, is for you a support. Since this is so, who is so mad as not to desire to be your friend?

"And now for the other side,—for I will go on to tell you the grounds upon which I base the hope that you will likewise desire to be our

[1] The ἔφεδρος, in the language of Greek athletics, was the man who had "drawn a bye," and so waited for the result of a contest in order to engage the victor.

13 οἶδα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν Μυσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὓς νομίζω ἂν σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει ταπεινοὺς ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν· οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πισίδας· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἃ οἶμαι ἂν παῦσαι ἐνοχλοῦντα ἀεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. Αἰγυπτίους δέ, οἷς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς γιγνώσκω τεθυμωμένους, οὐχ ὁρῶ ποίᾳ δυνάμει συμμάχῳ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἂν κολάσαισθε τῆς νῦν σὺν
14 ἐμοὶ οὔσης. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔν γε τοῖς πέριξ οἰκοῦσι σὺ εἰ μὲν βούλοιο φίλος ὡς μέγιστος ἂν εἴης, εἰ δέ τίς σε λυποίη, ὡς δεσπότης ἂν ἀναστρέφοιο ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, οἵ σοι οὐκ ἂν μισθοῦ ἕνεκα ὑπηρετοῖμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἣν σωθέντες ὑπὸ
15 σοῦ σοὶ ἂν ἔχοιμεν δικαίως. ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὕτω δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι τὸ σὲ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν ὥστε καὶ ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι τὸ ὄνομα[1] τίς οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς λέγειν ὥστε σε πεῖσαι λέγων ὡς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιβουλεύομεν. Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπε· Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ὧδε ἀπημείφθη.

16 Ἀλλ' ἥδομαι μέν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γιγνώσκων εἴ τι ἐμοὶ κακὸν βουλεύοις, ἅμα ἄν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σαυτῷ κακόνους εἶναι. ὡς δ' ἂν μάθῃς ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς δικαίως οὔτε βασιλεῖ οὔτ' ἐμοὶ ἀπιστοί-
17 ητε, ἀντάκουσον. εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀπολέσαι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦμεν ἱππέων πλήθους

[1] τὸ ὄνομα MSS.: Gem. brackets, following Bisschop.

friend. I know that the Mysians are troublesome to you, and I believe that with the force I have I could make them your submissive servants; I know that the Pisidians also trouble you, and I hear that there are likewise many other tribes of the same sort; I could put a stop, I think, to their being a continual annoyance to your prosperity. As for the Egyptians, with whom I learn that you are especially angry, I do not see what force you could better employ to aid you in chastising them than the force which I now have. Again, take those who dwell around you: if you chose to be a friend to any, you could be the greatest possible friend, while if any were to annoy you, you could play the part of master over them in case you had us for supporters, for we should serve you, not merely for the sake of pay, but also out of the gratitude that we should feel, and rightly feel, toward you, the man who had saved us. For my part, as I consider all these things the idea of your distrusting us seems to me so astonishing that I should be very glad indeed to hear the name of the man who is so clever a talker that his talk could persuade you that we were cherishing designs against you." Thus much Clearchus said, and Tissaphernes replied as follows:

"It is a pleasure to me, Clearchus, to hear your sensible words; for if, holding these views, you should devise any ill against me, you would at the same time, I think, be showing ill-will toward yourself also. And now, in order that you may learn that you likewise are mistaken in distrusting either the King or myself, take your turn in listening. If we were, in fact, desirous of destroying you, does it seem to you that we have not cavalry in abundance

ἀπορεῖν ἢ πεζῶν ἢ ὁπλίσεως ἐν ᾗ ὑμᾶς μὲν βλάπτειν ἱκανοὶ εἴημεν ἄν, ἀντιπάσχειν δὲ οὐδεὶς
18 κίνδυνος; ἀλλὰ χωρίων ἐπιτηδείων ὑμῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀπορεῖν ἄν σοι δοκοῦμεν; οὐ τοσαῦτα μὲν πεδία ἃ ὑμεῖς φίλια ὄντα σὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ διαπορεύεσθε, τοσαῦτα δὲ ὄρη ὁρᾶτε ὑμῖν ὄντα πορευτέα, ἃ ἡμῖν ἔξεστι προκαταλαβοῦσιν ἄπορα ὑμῖν παρέχειν, τοσοῦτοι δ' εἰσὶ ποταμοὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι ὁπόσοις ἂν ὑμῶν βουλώμεθα μάχεσθαι; εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οὓς οὐδ' ἂν παντάπασι
19 διαβαίητε, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς διαπορεύοιμεν. εἰ δ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἡττῴμεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι πῦρ κρεῖττον τοῦ καρποῦ ἐστιν· ὃν ἡμεῖς δυναίμεθ' ἂν κατακαύσαντες λιμὸν ὑμῖν ἀντιτάξαι, ᾧ ὑμεῖς οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ ἀγαθοὶ εἴητε μάχεσθαι ἂν δύναισθε.
20 πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοντες τοσούτους πόρους πρὸς τὸ ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μηδένα ἡμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον, ἔπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων τοῦτον ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἐξελοίμεθα ὃς μόνος μὲν πρὸς θεῶν ἀσε-
21 βής, μόνος δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων αἰσχρός; παντάπασι δὲ ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐχομένων, καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι δι' ἐπιορκίας τε πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πράττειν τι. οὐχ οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ὦ Κλέαρχε, οὔτε ἀλόγιστοι οὔτε ἠλίθιοί ἐσμεν.
22 Ἀλλὰ τί δὴ ὑμᾶς ἐξὸν ἀπολέσαι οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἤλθομεν; εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως τούτου αἴτιος τὸ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ᾧ Κῦρος ἀνέβη ξενικῷ διὰ μισθοδοσίας πιστεύων τούτῳ

and infantry and military equipment, whereby we should be able to harm you without being in any danger of suffering harm ourselves? Or do you think that we should not have places suitable for attacking you? Do you not behold these vast plains, which even now, although they are friendly, it is costing you a deal of labour to traverse? and these great mountains you have to pass, which we can occupy in advance and render impassable for you? and have we not these great rivers, at which we can parcel out whatever number of you we may choose to fight with—some, in fact, which you could not cross at all unless we carried you over? And if we were worsted at all these points, nevertheless it is certain that fire can worst crops; by burning them up we could bring famine into the field against you, and you could not fight against that, however brave you might be. Since, then, we have so many ways of making war upon you, no one of them dangerous to us, why, in such a case, should we choose out of them all that one way which alone is impious in the sight of the gods and shameful in the sight of men? For it is those who are utterly without ways and means, who are bound by necessity, and who are rascals in any case, that are willing to accomplish an object by perjury to the gods and unfaithfulness to men. As for us, Clearchus, we are not so unreasoning or foolish.

"But why, one might ask, when it was possible for us to destroy you, did we not proceed to do so? The reason for this, be well assured, was my eager desire to prove myself trustworthy to the Greeks, so that with the same mercenary force which Cyrus led up from the coast in the faith of wages paid, I might

23 ἐμὲ καταβῆναι δι' εὐεργεσίαν ἰσχυρόν. ὅσα δ'
ἐμοὶ χρήσιμοι ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὰ μὲν καὶ σὺ εἶπας, τὸ
δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ οἶδα· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ
τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἔξεστιν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν, τὴν δ'
ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν παρόντων καὶ ἕτερος
εὐπετῶς ἔχοι.

24 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἀληθῆ λέγειν·
καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἵτινες τοιούτων ἡμῖν εἰς
φιλίαν ὑπαρχόντων πειρῶνται διαβάλλοντες
ποιῆσαι πολεμίους ἡμᾶς ἄξιοί εἰσι τὰ ἔσχατα
25 παθεῖν; Καὶ ἐγὼ μέν γε, ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, εἰ
βούλεσθέ μοι οἵ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ
ἐλθεῖν, ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέ-
γοντας ὡς σὺ ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύεις καὶ τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ
26 στρατιᾷ. Ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἄξω πάντας,
καὶ σοὶ αὖ δηλώσω ὅθεν ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ἀκούω.

27 Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ὁ Τισσαφέρνης φιλο-
φρονούμενος τότε μὲν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε καὶ
σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κλέ-
αρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον δῆλός τ' ἦν
πάνυ φιλικῶς οἰόμενος διακεῖσθαι τῷ Τισσα-
φέρνει καὶ ἃ ἔλεγεν ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν, ἔφη τε
χρῆναι ἰέναι παρὰ Τισσαφέρνην οὓς ἐκέλευεν,
καὶ οἳ ἂν[1] ἐλεγχθῶσι διαβάλλοντες τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων, ὡς προδότας αὐτοὺς καὶ κακόνους τοῖς

[1] οἳ ἂν MSS.: ἐὰν Gem., following Dindorf. Gem. also brackets τῶν Ἑλλήνων, following Dobree.

go back to the coast in the security of benefits conferred. And as for all the ways in which you are of use to me, you also have mentioned some of them, but it is I who know the most important: the King alone may wear upright the tiara that is upon the head, but another, too, with your help, might easily so wear the one that is upon the heart.[1]"

In these things that he said Tissaphernes seemed to Clearchus to be speaking the truth; and Clearchus said: "Then do not those who are endeavouring by false charges to make us enemies, when we have such grounds for friendship, deserve to suffer the uttermost penalty?" "Yes," said Tissaphernes, "and for my part, if you generals and captains care to come to me, I will give you, publicly, the names of those who tell me that you are plotting against me and the army under my command." "And I," said Clearchus, "will bring them all, and in my turn will make known to you whence come the reports that I hear about you."

After this conversation Tissaphernes showed all kindness, inviting Clearchus at that time to stay with him and making him his guest at dinner. On the following day, when Clearchus returned to the Greek camp, he not only made it clear that he imagined he was on very friendly terms with Tissaphernes and reported the words which he had used, but he said that those whom Tissaphernes had invited must go to him, and that whoever among the Greeks should be convicted of making false charges ought to be

[1] The first clause states a fact of Persian court etiquette; the second is apparently intended to give Clearchus the impression that Tissaphernes aspires to the Persian throne, and for that reason really desires the friendship and help of the Greeks.

28 Ἕλλησιν ὄντας τιμωρηθῆναι. ὑπώπτευε δὲ
εἶναι τὸν διαβάλλοντα Μένωνα, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν καὶ
συγγεγενημένον Τισσαφέρνει μετ᾽ Ἀριαίου καὶ
στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ὅπως τὸ
στράτευμα ἅπαν πρὸς αὑτὸν λαβὼν φίλος ᾖ Τισ-
29 σαφέρνει. ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ Κλέαρχος ἅπαν τὸ
στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην καὶ
τοὺς παραλυποῦντας ἐκποδὼν εἶναι. τῶν δὲ
στρατιωτῶν ἀντέλεγόν τινες αὐτῷ μὴ ἰέναι πάν-
τας τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρατηγοὺς μηδὲ πιστεύ-
30 ειν Τισσαφέρνει. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἰσχυρῶς κατέ-
τεινεν, ἔστε διεπράξατο πέντε μὲν στρατηγοὺς
ἰέναι, εἴκοσι δὲ λοχαγούς· συνηκολούθησαν δὲ
ὡς εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ὡς
διακόσιοι.
31 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρνους, οἱ
μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν εἴσω, Πρόξενος
Βοιώτιος, Μένων Θετταλός, Ἀγίας Ἀρκάς, Κλέ-
αρχος Λάκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαιός· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ
32 ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἔμενον. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον
ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου οἵ τ᾽ ἔνδον ξυνελαμβά-
νοντο καὶ οἱ ἔξω κατεκόπησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν
βαρβάρων τινὲς ἱππέων διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐλαύ-
νοντες ᾧτινι ἐντυγχάνοιεν Ἕλληνι ἢ δούλῳ ἢ
33 ἐλευθέρῳ πάντας ἔκτεινον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τήν
τε ἱππασίαν ἐθαύμαζον ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὁρῶν-
τες καὶ ὅ τι ἐποίουν ἠμφεγνόουν, πρὶν Νίκαρχος
Ἀρκὰς ἧκε φεύγων τετρωμένος εἰς τὴν γαστέρα
καὶ τὰ ἔντερα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, καὶ εἶπε
34 πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα. ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες
ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ

punished, as traitors and foes to the Greeks. Now Clearchus suspected that the author of these slanders was Menon, for he was aware that Menon had not only had meetings with Tissaphernes, in company with Ariaeus, but was also organizing opposition to his own leadership and plotting against him, with the intention of winning over to himself the entire army and thereby securing the friendship of Tissaphernes. Clearchus desired, however, to have the entire army devoted to him and to put the refractory out of the way. As for the soldiers, some of them made objections to Clearchus' proposal, urging that the captains and generals should not all go and that they should not trust Tissaphernes. But Clearchus vehemently insisted, until he secured an agreement that five generals should go and twenty captains; and about two hundred of the soldiers also followed along, with the intention of going to market.

When they reached Tissaphernes' doors, the generals were invited in—Proxenus the Boeotian, Menon the Thessalian, Agias the Arcadian, Clearchus the Laconian, and Socrates the Achaean—while the captains waited at the doors. Not long afterward, at the same signal, those within were seized and those outside were cut down. After this some of the barbarian horsemen rode about over the plain and killed every Greek they met, whether slave or freeman. And the Greeks wondered at this riding about, as they saw it from their camp, and were puzzled to know what the horsemen were doing, until Nicarchus the Arcadian reached the camp in flight, wounded in his belly and holding his bowels in his hands, and told all that had happened. Thereupon the Greeks, one and all, ran to their arms,

νομίζοντες αὐτίκα ἥξειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατό-
πεδον.
35 Οἱ δὲ πάντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, Ἀριαῖος δὲ καὶ
Ἀρτάοζος καὶ Μιθραδάτης, οἳ ἦσαν Κύρῳ πισ-
τότατοι· ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑρμηνεὺς ἔφη καὶ
τὸν Τισσαφέρνους ἀδελφὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὁρᾶν καὶ
γιγνώσκειν· ξυνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Περσῶν
36 τεθωρακισμένοι εἰς τριακοσίους. οὗτοι ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς
ἦσαν, προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευον εἴ τις εἴη τῶν Ἑλλήνων
στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγός, ἵνα ἀπαγγείλωσι τὰ παρὰ
37 βασιλέως. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθον φυλαττόμενοι
τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὶ μὲν Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχο-
μένιος καὶ Σοφαίνετος Στυμφάλιος, ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ
Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπως μάθοι τὰ περὶ Προ-
ξένου· Χειρίσοφος δὲ ἐτύγχανεν ἀπὼν ἐν κώμῃ
38 τινὶ ξὺν ἄλλοις ἐπισιτιζομένοις. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔστη-
σαν εἰς ἐπήκοον, εἶπεν Ἀριαῖος τάδε. Κλέαρχος
μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ ἐπιορκῶν τε ἐφάνη
καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύων, ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ τέθνηκε,
Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, ὅτι κατήγγειλαν αὐτοῦ
τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσιν. ὑμᾶς δὲ
βασιλεὺς τὰ ὅπλα ἀπαιτεῖ· αὑτοῦ γὰρ εἶναί
φησιν, ἐπείπερ Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου.
39 πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔλεγε δὲ
Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος· Ὦ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων
Ἀριαῖε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι ἦτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ
αἰσχύνεσθε οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτ᾽ ἀνθρώπους, οἵτινες
ὀμόσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐχθροὺς
νομιεῖν, προδόντες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τισσαφέρνει τῷ

panic-stricken and believing that the enemy would come at once against the camp.

Not all of them came, however, but Ariaeus, Artaozus, and Mithradates, who had been most faithful friends of Cyrus, did come; and the interpreter of the Greeks said that with them he also saw and recognized Tissaphernes' brother; furthermore, they were followed by other Persians, armed with breastplates, to the number of three hundred. As soon as this party had come near, they directed whatever Greek general or captain there might be to come forward, in order that they might deliver a message from the King. After this two generals went forth from the Greek lines under guard, Cleanor the Orchomenian and Sophaenetus the Stymphalian, and with them Xenophon the Athenian, who wished to learn the fate of Proxenus; Cheirisophus, however, chanced to be away in a village in company with others who were getting provisions. And when the Greeks got within hearing distance, Ariaeus said: "Clearchus, men of Greece, inasmuch as he was shown to be perjuring himself and violating the truce, has received his deserts and is dead, but Proxenus and Menon, because they gave information about his plotting, are held in high honour. For yourselves, the King demands your arms; for he says that they belong to him, since they belonged to Cyrus, his slave." To this the Greeks replied as follows, Cleanor the Orchomenian acting as spokesman: "Ariaeus, you basest of men, and all you others who were friends of Cyrus, are you not ashamed, either before gods or men, that, after giving us your oaths to count the same people friends and foes as we did, you have betrayed us, joining hands

*ἀθεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουργοτάτῳ τούς τε ἄνδρας
αὐτοὺς οἷς ὤμνυτε ἀπολωλέκατε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
ἡμᾶς προδεδωκότες ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφ' ἡμᾶς*
40 *ἔρχεσθε; ὁ δὲ* Ἀριαῖος *εἶπε·* Κλέαρχος *γὰρ
πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλεύων φανερὸς ἐγένετο* Τισσαφέρ-
νει τε καὶ Ὀρόντᾳ, *καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ξὺν*
41 *τούτοις. ἐπὶ τούτῳ* Ξενοφῶν *τάδε εἶπε.* Κλέαρχος
*μὲν τοίνυν εἰ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἔλυε τὰς σπονδάς,
τὴν δίκην ἔχει· δίκαιον γὰρ ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς
ἐπιορκοῦντας·* Πρόξενος *δὲ καὶ* Μένων *ἐπείπερ
εἰσὶν ὑμέτεροι μὲν εὐεργέται, ἡμέτεροι δὲ στρατη-
γοί, πέμψατε αὐτοὺς δεῦρο· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι φίλοι
γε ὄντες ἀμφοτέροις πειράσονται καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ*
42 *ἡμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα ξυμβουλεῦσαι. πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ
βάρβαροι πολὺν χρόνον διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις
ἀπῆλθον οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι.*

VI. Οἱ *μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες ἀνή-
χθησαν ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κε-
φαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν, εἷς μὲν αὐτῶν* Κλέαρχος
*ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐμπείρως αὐτοῦ
ἐχόντων δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ πολεμικὸς καὶ*
2 *φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἕως μὲν
πόλεμος ἦν τοῖς* Λακεδαιμονίοις *πρὸς τοὺς* Ἀθη-
*ναίους παρέμενεν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, πείσας
τὴν αὑτοῦ πόλιν ὡς οἱ* Θρᾷκες *ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς*
Ἕλληνας *καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο παρὰ
τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξέπλει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ*
3 Χερρονήσου *καὶ* Περίνθου Θρᾳξίν. *ἐπεὶ δὲ*

with Tissaphernes, that most godless and villainous man, and that you have not only destroyed the very men to whom you were then making oath, but have betrayed the rest of us and are come with our enemies against us?" And Ariaeus said: "But it was shown that long ago Clearchus was plotting against Tissaphernes and Orontas and all of us who are with them." Upon this Xenophon spoke as follows: "Well, then, if Clearchus was really transgressing the truce in violation of his oaths, he has his deserts, for it is right that perjurers should perish; but as for Proxenus and Menon, since they are your benefactors and our generals, send them hither, for it is clear that, being friends of both parties, they will endeavour to give both you and ourselves the best advice." To this the barbarians made no answer, but, after talking for a long time with one another, they departed.

VI. The generals, then, after being thus seized, were taken to the King and put to death by being beheaded. One of them, Clearchus, by common consent of all who were personally acquainted with him, seemed to have shown himself a man who was both fitted for war and fond of war to the last degree. For, in the first place, as long as the Lacedaemonians were at war with the Athenians, he bore his part with them; then, as soon as peace had come, he persuaded his state that the Thracians were injuring the Greeks,[1] and, after gaining his point as best he could from the ephors,[2] set sail with the intention of making war upon the Thracians who dwelt beyond the Chersonese and Perinthus. When, however, the

[1] *i.e.* the Greek colonists in the Thracian Chersonese.

[2] The ephors, five in number, were the ruling officials at Sparta.

μεταγνόντες πως οἱ ἔφοροι ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος ἀπο-
στρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρῶντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα
οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ᾤχετο πλέων εἰς Ἑλλήσ-
4 ποντον. ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν
Σπάρτῃ τελῶν ὡς ἀπειθῶν. ἤδη δὲ φυγὰς ὢν
ἔρχεται πρὸς Κῦρον, καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἔπεισε
Κῦρον ἄλλῃ γέγραπται, δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κῦρος
5 μυρίους δαρεικούς· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥᾳθυμίαν
ἐτράπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλ-
λέξας στράτευμα ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θρᾳξί, καὶ μάχῃ
τε ἐνίκησε καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ἔφερε καὶ ἦγε τού-
τους καὶ πολεμῶν διεγένετο μέχρι Κῦρος ἐδεήθη
τοῦ στρατεύματος· τότε δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὡς ξὺν
ἐκείνῳ αὖ πολεμήσων.
6 Ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα
εἶναι, ὅστις ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης
καὶ βλάβης αἱρεῖται πολεμεῖν, ἐξὸν δὲ ῥᾳθυμεῖν
βούλεται πονεῖν ὥστε πολεμεῖν,[1] ἐξὸν δὲ χρήματα
ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως αἱρεῖται πολεμῶν μείονα ταῦτα
ποιεῖν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὥσπερ [2] εἰς παιδικὰ ἢ εἰς ἄλλην
7 τινὰ ἡδονὴν ἤθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον. οὕτω
μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν· πολεμικὸς δὲ αὖ ταύτῃ
ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν καὶ ἡμέρας
καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐν τοῖς
δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὡς οἱ παρόντες πανταχοῦ πάν-
8 τες ὡμολόγουν. καὶ ἀρχικὸς δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι ὡς

[1] ὥστε πολεμεῖν MSS.: Gem. brackets.
[2] After ὥσπερ Gem. inserts τις.

ephors changed their minds for some reason or other and, after he had already gone, tried to turn him back from the Isthmus of Corinth, at that point he declined to render further obedience, but went sailing off to the Hellespont. As a result he was condemned to death by the authorities at Sparta on the ground of disobedience to orders. Being now an exile he came to Cyrus, and the arguments whereby he persuaded Cyrus are recorded elsewhere;[1] at any rate, Cyrus gave him ten thousand darics, and he, upon receiving this money, did not turn his thoughts to comfortable idleness, but used it to collect an army and proceeded to make war upon the Thracians. He defeated them in battle and from that time on plundered them in every way, and he kept up the war until Cyrus wanted his army; then he returned, still for the purpose of making war, this time in company with Cyrus.

Now such conduct as this, in my opinion, reveals a man fond of war. When he may enjoy peace without dishonour or harm, he chooses war; when he may live in idleness, he prefers toil, provided it be the toil of war; when he may keep his money without risk, he elects to diminish it by carrying on war. As for Clearchus, just as one spends upon a loved one or upon any other pleasure, so he wanted to spend upon war—such a lover he was of war. On the other hand, he seemed to be fitted for war in that he was fond of danger, ready by day or night to lead his troops against the enemy, and self-possessed amid terrors, as all who were with him on all occasions agreed. He was likewise said to be fitted for command, so far

[1] But not in the *Anabasis* or in any of Xenophon's other works. Perhaps the author was writing under the impression that he had stated these arguments in I. i. 9.

δυνατὸν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου οἷον κἀκεῖνος εἶχεν. ἱκανὸς μὲν γὰρ ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος φροντίζειν ἦν ὅπως ἔχοι ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποιῆσαι
9 τοῖς παροῦσιν ὡς πειστέον εἴη Κλεάρχῳ. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾶν στυγνὸς ἦν καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχύς, ἐκόλαζέ τε ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐνίοτε, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν
10 ἔσθ' ὅτε. καὶ γνώμῃ δ' ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο ὄφελος εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὡς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακὰς φυλάξειν ἢ φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι ἢ ἀπροφασίστως ἰέναι πρὸς τοὺς πολε-
11 μίους. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἤθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον ᾑροῦντο οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυγνὸν τότε φαιδρὸν[1] ἔφασαν φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὥστε σωτήριον, οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν
12 ἐφαίνετο· ὅτε δ' ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιντο καὶ ἐξείη πρὸς ἄλλον ἀρξομένους ἀπιέναι, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ὠμός· ὥστε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον.
13 καὶ γὰρ οὖν φιλίᾳ μὲν καὶ εὐνοίᾳ ἑπομένους οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οἵτινες δὲ ἢ ὑπὸ πόλεως τεταγμένοι ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατε-

[1] After φαιδρὸν the MSS. have αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις προσώποις: rejected by Gem. and Mar., following Cobet.

as that was possible for a man of such a disposition as his was. For example, he was competent, if ever a man was, in devising ways by which his army might get provisions and in procuring them, and he was competent also to impress it upon those who were with him that Clearchus must be obeyed. This result he accomplished by being severe; for he was gloomy in appearance and harsh in voice, and he used to punish severely, sometimes in anger, so that on occasion he would be sorry afterwards. Yet he also punished on principle, for he believed there was no good in an army that went without punishment; in fact, he used to say, it was reported, that a soldier must fear his commander more than the enemy if he were to perform guard duty or keep his hands from friends or without making excuses advance against the enemy. In the midst of dangers, therefore, the troops were ready to obey him implicitly and would choose no other to command them; for they said that at such times his gloominess appeared to be brightness, and his severity seemed to be resolution against the enemy, so that it appeared to betoken safety and to be no longer severity. But when they had got past the danger and could go off to serve under another commander, many would desert him; for there was no attractiveness about him, but he was always severe and rough, so that the soldiers had the same feeling toward him that boys have toward a schoolmaster.] For this reason, also, he never had men following him out of friendship and good-will, but such as were under him because they had been put in his hands by a government or by their own need or were under the compulsion of any other

χόμενοι παρείησαν αὐτῷ, σφόδρα πειθομένοις
14 ἐχρῆτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄρξαιντο νικᾶν ξὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς
πολεμίους, ἤδη μεγάλα ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα
εἶναι τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας· τό τε γὰρ πρὸς
τοὺς πολεμίους θαρραλέως ἔχειν παρῆν καὶ τὸ τὴν
παρ' ἐκείνου τιμωρίαν φοβεῖσθαι εὐτάκτους ἐποίει.
15 τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων
οὐ μάλα ἐθέλειν ἐλέγετο. ἦν δὲ ὅτε ἐτελεύτα ἀμφὶ
τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη.
16 Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιώτιος εὐθὺς μὲν μειράκιον ὢν
ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν
ἱκανός· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε
17 Γοργίᾳ ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίνῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο
ἐκείνῳ, ἱκανὸς νομίσας ἤδη εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ φί-
λος ὢν τοῖς πρώτοις μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἦλθεν
εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ᾤετο κτή-
σεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὄνομα μέγα καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην
18 καὶ χρήματα πολλά· τοσούτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν
σφόδρα ἔνδηλον αὖ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχεν, ὅτι τούτων
οὐδὲν ἂν θέλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν
τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ ᾤετο δεῖν τούτων τυγχάνειν,
19 ἄνευ δὲ τούτων μή. ἄρχειν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καὶ
ἀγαθῶν δυνατὸς ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὔτ' αἰδῶ τοῖς
στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον ἱκανὸς ἐμποιῆσαι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ᾐσχύνετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρατιώτας ἢ οἱ
ἀρχόμενοι ἐκεῖνον· καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἦν
φανερὸς τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ οἱ
20 στρατιῶται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. ᾤετο δὲ ἀρκεῖν

necessity, yielded him implicit obedience. And as soon as they began in his service to overcome the enemy, from that moment there were weighty reasons which made his soldiers efficient; for they had the feeling of confidence in the face of the enemy, and their fear of punishment at his hands kept them in a fine state of discipline. Such he was as a commander, but being commanded by others was not especially to his liking, so people said. He was about fifty years old at the time of his death.

Proxenus the Boeotian cherished from his earliest youth an eager desire to become a man capable of dealing with great affairs, and because of this desire he paid money to Gorgias of Leontini.[1] After having studied under him and reaching the conclusion that he had now become competent to rule and, through friendship with the foremost men of his day, to hold his own in conferring benefits, he embarked upon this enterprise with Cyrus, expecting to gain therefrom a famous name, great power, and abundant wealth; but while vehemently desiring these great ends, he nevertheless made it evident also that he would not care to gain any one of them unjustly; rather, he thought that he must secure them justly and honourably, or not at all. As a leader, he was qualified to command gentlemen, but he was not capable of inspiring his soldiers with either respect for himself or fear; on the contrary, he really stood in greater awe of his men than they, whom he commanded, did of him, and it was manifest that he was more afraid of incurring the hatred of his soldiers than they were of disobeying him. His idea was that, for a man to be

[1] A celebrated rhetorician and orator, whose enormous fee of 100 minae (£375 or $1,800) was almost as famous as himself.

πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοί τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι ἐπεβούλευον ὡς εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ὄντι. ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνῃσκεν ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.

21 Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν
πλουτεῖν ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως
πλείω λαμβάνοι, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα
πλείω κερδαίνοι· φίλος τε ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς
μέγιστα δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίη δίκην.
22 ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὧν ἐπιθυμοίη συντομω-
τάτην ᾤετο ὁδὸν εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιορκεῖν τε καὶ
ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν, τὸ δ' ἁπλοῦν καὶ τὸ
23 ἀληθὲς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἠλιθίῳ εἶναι. στέργων δὲ
φανερὸς μὲν ἦν οὐδένα, ὅτῳ δὲ φαίη φίλος
εἶναι, τούτῳ ἔνδηλος ἐγίγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων.
καὶ πολεμίου μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ
συνόντων πάντων ὡς καταγελῶν ἀεὶ διελέ-
24 γετο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κτήμασιν
οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾤετο εἶναι τὰ
τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν· τὰ δὲ τῶν
φίλων μόνος ᾤετο εἰδέναι ῥᾷστον ὂν ἀφύλακτα
25 λαμβάνειν. καὶ ὅσους μὲν αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρκους
καὶ ἀδίκους ὡς εὖ ὡπλισμένους ἐφοβεῖτο, τοῖς δὲ
ὁσίοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις
26 ἐπειρᾶτο χρῆσθαι. ὥσπερ δέ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ

and to be thought fit to command, it was enough that he should praise the one who did right and withhold praise from the one who did wrong. Consequently all among his associates who were gentlemen were attached to him, but the unprincipled would plot against him in the thought that he was easy to deal with. At the time of his death he was about thirty years old.

Menon the Thessalian was manifestly eager for enormous wealth—eager for command in order to get more wealth and eager for honour in order to increase his gains; and he desired to be a friend to the men who possessed greatest power in order that he might commit unjust deeds without suffering the penalty. Again, for the accomplishment of the objects upon which his heart was set, he imagined that the shortest route was by way of perjury and falsehood and deception, while he counted straightforwardness and truth the same thing as folly. Affection he clearly felt for nobody, and if he said that he was a friend to anyone, it would become plain that this man was the one he was plotting against. He would never ridicule an enemy, but he always gave the impression in conversation of ridiculing all his associates. Neither would he devise schemes against his enemies' property, for he saw difficulty in getting hold of the possessions of people who were on their guard; but he thought he was the only one who knew that it was easiest to get hold of the property of friends—just because it was unguarded. Again, all whom he found to be perjurers and wrongdoers he would fear, regarding them as well armed, while those who were pious and practised truth he would try to make use of, regarding them as weaklings. And just as a man

θεοσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ δικαιότητι, οὕτω Μένων ἠγάλλετο τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψεύδη, τῷ φίλους διαγελᾶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πανοῦργον τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων ἀεὶ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύειν φιλίᾳ, διαβάλλων τοὺς πρώτους τοῦτο ᾤετο δεῖν κτή-
27 σασθαι. τὸ δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συναδικεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμηχανᾶτο. τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ἠξίου ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι πλεῖστα δύναιτο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀδικεῖν· εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὁπότε τις αὐτοῦ ἀφίσταιτο, ὅτι χρώμενος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν.

28 Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀφανῆ ἔξεστι περὶ αὐτοῦ ψεύδεσθαι, ἃ δὲ πάντες ἴσασι τάδ' ἐστί. παρὰ Ἀριστίππου μὲν ἔτι ὡραῖος ὢν στρατηγεῖν διεπράξατο τῶν ξένων, Ἀριαίῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ ὄντι, ὅτι μειρακίοις καλοῖς ἥδετο, οἰκειότατος ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δὲ παιδικὰ εἶχε Θαρύπαν ἀγένειος ὢν γενει-
29 ῶντα. ἀποθνησκόντων δὲ τῶν συστρατήγων ὅτι ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ξὺν Κύρῳ, ταὐτὰ πεποιηκὼς οὐκ ἀπέθανε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων θάνατον στρατηγῶν τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλάς, ὅσπερ τάχιστος θάνατος δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς

prides himself upon piety, truthfulness, and justice, so Menon prided himself upon ability to deceive, the fabrication of lies, and the mocking of friends; but the man who was not a rascal he always thought of as belonging to the uneducated. Again, if he were attempting to be first in the friendship of anybody, he thought that slandering those who were already first was the proper way of gaining this end. As for making his soldiers obedient, he managed that by bearing a share in their wrongdoing. He expected, indeed, to gain honour and attention by showing that he had the ability and would have the readiness to do the most wrongs; and he set it down as a kindness, whenever anyone broke off with him, that he had not, while still on terms with such a one, destroyed him.

To be sure, in matters that are doubtful one may be mistaken about him, but the facts which everybody knows are the following. From Aristippus[1] he secured, while still in the bloom of youth, an appointment as general of his mercenaries; with Ariaeus, who was a barbarian, he became extremely intimate for the reason that Ariaeus was fond of beautiful youths; and, lastly, he himself, while still beardless, had a bearded favourite named Tharypas. Now when his fellow-generals were put to death for joining Cyrus in his expedition against the King, he, who had done the same thing, was not so treated, but it was after the execution of the other generals that the King visited the punishment of death upon him; and he was not, like Clearchus and the rest of the generals, beheaded—a manner of death which is counted speediest—but, report says, was tortured

[1] See I. i. 10, ii. 1, and note on I. ii. 6.

ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς πονηρὸς λέγεται τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.

30 Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκὰς καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ τούτω ἀπεθανέτην. τούτων δὲ οὔθ' ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν οὐδεὶς κατεγέλα οὔτ' εἰς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμφετο. ἤστην δὲ ἄμφω ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.

alive for a year and so met the death of a scoundrel.

Agias the Arcadian and Socrates the Achaean were the two others who were put to death. No one ever laughed at these men as weaklings in war or found fault with them in the matter of friendship. They were both about thirty-five years of age.

BOOK III

Γ

2 I. [1] Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ συνεπισπόμενοι ἀπωλώλεσαν, ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐννοούμενοι ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἦσαν, κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντῃ πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμιαι ἦσαν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι παρέξειν ἔμελλεν, ἀπεῖχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ μεῖον ἢ μύρια στάδια, ἡγεμὼν δ' οὐδεὶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν, ποταμοὶ δὲ διεῖργον ἀδιάβατοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ, προυδεδώκεσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες βάρβαροι, μόνοι δὲ καταλελειμμένοι ἦσαν οὐδὲ ἱππέα οὐδένα σύμμαχον ἔχοντες, ὥστε εὔδηλον ἦν ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν οὐδένα ἂν κατακάνοιεν, ἡττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν
3 οὐδεὶς ἂν λειφθείη· ταῦτ' ἐννοούμενοι καὶ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν σίτου ἐγεύσαντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὶ οὐκ ἦλθον ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ἀνεπαύοντο δὲ ὅπου ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστος, οὐ δυνάμενοι καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων,

[1] The summary prefixed to Book III. (see note on II. i. 1) is as follows: Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀναβάσει οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπραξαν μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐγένετο ἀπιόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σὺν Τισσαφέρνει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

BOOK III

I. [1] After the generals had been seized and such of the captains and soldiers as accompanied them had been killed, the Greeks were naturally in great perplexity, reflecting that they were at the King's gates, that round about them on every side were many hostile tribes and cities, that no one would provide them a market any longer, that they were distant from Greece not less than ten thousand stadia, that they had no guide to show them the way, that they were cut off by impassable rivers which flowed across the homeward route, that the barbarians who had made the upward march with Cyrus had also betrayed them, and that they were left alone, without even a single horseman to support them, so that it was quite clear that if they should be victorious, they could not kill anyone,[2] while if they should be defeated, not one of them would be left alive. Full of these reflections and despondent as they were, but few of them tasted food at evening, few kindled a fire, and many did not come that night to their quarters, but lay down wherever they each chanced to be, unable to sleep for grief and longing for their native

[1] Summary (see opposite page): The preceding narrative has described all that the Greeks did in the course of the upward march with Cyrus until the time of the battle, and all that took place after the death of Cyrus while the Greeks were on the way back with Tissaphernes during the period of the truce. [2] See II. iv. 6 and the note.

γονέων, γυναικῶν, παίδων, οὓς οὔποτ᾽ ἐνόμιζον
ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ διακείμενοι πάντες
ἀνεπαύοντο.
4 Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος,
ὃς οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε λοχαγὸς οὔτε στρατιώτης
ὢν συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος αὐτὸν μετε-
πέμψατο οἴκοθεν ξένος ὢν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπισχνεῖτο
δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι, φίλον αὐτὸν Κύρῳ ποιήσειν, ὃν
αὐτὸς ἔφη κρείττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος.
5 ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνα-
κοινοῦται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας.
καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπτεύσας μή τι πρὸς τῆς
πόλεως ὑπαίτιον εἴη Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι
ἐδόκει ὁ Κῦρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμῆσαι, συμβουλεύει τῷ
Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ
6 θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας. ἐλθὼν δ᾽ ὁ Ξενοφῶν
ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ
εὐχόμενος κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδὸν
ἣν ἐπινοεῖ καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθείη. καὶ ἀνεῖλεν
7 αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. ὁ
δ᾽ ἀκούσας ᾐτιᾶτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον
ἠρώτα πότερον λῷον εἴη αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι ἢ
μένειν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς κρίνας ἰτέον εἶναι τοῦτ᾽ ἐπυν-
θάνετο ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθείη. ἐπεὶ μέντοι

1 The philosopher, whose follower and friend Xenophon had been from his youth.

states and parents, their wives and children, whom they thought they should never see again. Such was the state of mind in which they all lay down to rest.

There was a man in the army named Xenophon, an Athenian, who was neither general nor captain nor private, but had accompanied the expedition because Proxenus, an old friend of his, had sent him at his home an invitation to go with him; Proxenus had also promised him that, if he would go, he would make him a friend of Cyrus, whom he himself regarded, so he said, as worth more to him than was his native state. After reading Proxenus' letter Xenophon conferred with Socrates,[1] the Athenian, about the proposed journey; and Socrates, suspecting that his becoming a friend of Cyrus might be a cause for accusation against Xenophon on the part of the Athenian government, for the reason that Cyrus was thought to have given the Lacedaemonians zealous aid in their war against Athens,[2] advised Xenophon to go to Delphi and consult the god in regard to this journey. So Xenophon went and asked Apollo to what one of the gods he should sacrifice and pray in order best and most successfully to perform the journey which he had in mind and, after meeting with good fortune, to return home in safety; and Apollo in his response told him to what gods he must sacrifice. When Xenophon came back from Delphi, he reported the oracle to Socrates; and upon hearing about it Socrates found fault with him because he did not first put the question whether it were better for him to go or stay, but decided for himself that he was to go and then asked the god as to the best way of going. "However," he added, "since

[2] See Introd., pp. 231–233.

οὕτως ἤρου, ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς
ἐκέλευσεν.
8 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν οὕτω θυσάμενος οἷς ἀνεῖλεν
ὁ θεὸς ἐξέπλει, καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι
Πρόξενον καὶ Κῦρον μέλλοντας ἤδη ὁρμᾶν τὴν
9 ἄνω ὁδόν, καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρῳ. προθυμουμένου
δὲ τοῦ Προξένου καὶ ὁ Κῦρος συμπρουθυμεῖτο
μεῖναι αὐτόν, εἶπε δὲ ὅτι ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἡ
στρατεία λήξῃ, εὐθὺς ἀποπέμψει αὐτόν. ἐλέγετο
10 δὲ ὁ στόλος εἶναι εἰς Πισίδας. ἐστρατεύετο μὲν
δὴ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθείς—οὐχ ὑπὸ Προξένου· οὐ
γὰρ ᾔδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμὴν οὐδὲ ἄλλος
οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλὴν Κλεάρχου· ἐπεὶ μέντοι
εἰς Κιλικίαν ἦλθον, σαφὲς πᾶσιν ἤδη ἐδόκει εἶναι
ὅτι ὁ στόλος εἴη ἐπὶ βασιλέα. φοβούμενοι δὲ
τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἄκοντες ὅμως οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην
καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὧν
εἷς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἦν.
11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία ἦν, ἐλυπεῖτο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλ-
λοις καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο καθεύδειν· μικρὸν δ' ὕπνου
λαχὼν εἶδεν ὄναρ. ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομέ-
νης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν, καὶ
12 ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσα. περίφοβος δ' εὐθὺς
ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ τῇ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι
ἐν πόνοις ὢν καὶ κινδύνοις φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς
ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε· τῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν

you did put the question in that way, you must do all that the god directed."

Xenophon, accordingly, after offering the sacrifices to the gods that Apollo's oracle prescribed, set sail, overtook Proxenus and Cyrus at Sardis as they were on the point of beginning the upward march, and was introduced to Cyrus. And not only did Proxenus urge him to stay with them, but Cyrus also joined in this request, adding that as soon as the campaign came to an end, he would send Xenophon home at once; and the report was that the campaign was against the Pisidians. It was in this way, then, that Xenophon came to go on the expedition, quite deceived about its purpose—not, however, by Proxenus, for he did not know that the attack was directed against the King, nor did anyone else among the Greeks with the exception of Clearchus; but by the time they reached Cilicia, it seemed clear to everybody that the expedition was really against the King. Then, although the Greeks were fearful of the journey and unwilling to go on, most of them did, nevertheless, out of shame before one another and before Cyrus, continue the march. And Xenophon was one of this number.

Now when the time of perplexity came, he was distressed as well as everybody else and was unable to sleep; but, getting at length a little sleep, he had a dream. It seemed to him that there was a clap of thunder and a bolt fell on his father's house, setting the whole house ablaze. He awoke at once in great fear, and judged the dream in one way an auspicious one, because in the midst of hardships and perils he had seemed to behold a great light from Zeus; but looking at it in another way he was fearful, since the

βασιλέως τὸ ὄναρ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλῳ δὲ
ἐδόκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναιτο ἐκ τῆς
χώρας ἐξελθεῖν τῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλ' εἴργοιτο πάν-
13 τοθεν ὑπό τινων ἀποριῶν. ὁποῖόν τι μὲν δὴ
ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ ἰδεῖν ἔξεστι σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν
συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ. γίγνεται γὰρ τάδε.
εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια αὐτῷ
ἐμπίπτει· τί κατάκειμαι; ἡ δὲ νὺξ προβαίνει·
ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἥξειν. εἰ
δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχὶ
πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ
τὰ δεινότατα παθόντας ὑβριζομένους ἀποθανεῖν;
14 ὅπως δ' ἀμυνούμεθα οὐδεὶς παρασκευάζεται οὐδὲ
ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα ὥσπερ ἐξὸν ἡσυ-
χίαν ἄγειν. ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρα-
τηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν
ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμείνω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσ-
βύτερος ἔσομαι, ἐὰν τήμερον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς
πολεμίοις.

15 Ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προ-
ξένου πρῶτον λοχαγούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον,
ἔλεξεν· Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες λοχαγοί, οὔτε καθεύδειν
δύναμαι, ὥσπερ οἶμαι οὐδ' ὑμεῖς, οὔτε κατακεῖ-
16 σθαι ἔτι, ὁρῶν ἐν οἵοις ἐσμέν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμιοι
δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον
ἐξέφηναν πρὶν ἐνόμισαν καλῶς τὰ ἑαυτῶν παρα-
σκευάσασθαι, ἡμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελεῖ-
17 ται ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. καὶ μὴν εἰ

dream came, as he thought, from Zeus the King and the fire appeared to blaze all about, lest he might not be able to escape out of the King's country,[1] but might be shut in on all sides by various difficulties. Now what it really means to have such a dream one may learn from the events which followed the dream—and they were these: Firstly, on the moment of his awakening the thought occurred to him: "Why do I lie here? The night is wearing on, and at daybreak it is likely that the enemy will be upon us. And if we fall into the King's hands, what is there to prevent our living to behold all the most grievous sights and to experience all the most dreadful sufferings, and then being put to death with insult? As for defending ourselves, however, no one is making preparations or taking thought for that, but we lie here just as if it were possible for us to enjoy our ease. What about myself, then? From what state am I expecting the general to come who is to perform these duties? And what age must I myself wait to attain? For surely I shall never be any older, if this day I give myself up to the enemy."

Then he arose and, as a first step, called together the captains of Proxenus. When they had gathered, he said: "Gentlemen, I am unable either to sleep, as I presume you are also, or to lie still any longer, when I see in what straits we now are. For the enemy manifestly did not begin open war upon us until the moment when they believed that their own preparations had been adequately made; but on our side no one is planning any counter-measures at all to ensure our making the best possible fight. And

[1] King Zeus in the dream is the Persian King in the interpretation.

ὑφησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, τί οἰό-
μεθα πείσεσθαι; ὃς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου ἀδελφοῦ
καὶ τεθνηκότος ἤδη ἀποτεμὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ
τὴν χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν· ἡμᾶς δέ, οἷς κηδεμὼν
μὲν οὐδεὶς πάρεστιν, ἐστρατεύσαμεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν
ὡς δοῦλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ποιήσοντες καὶ ἀποκτε-
18 νοῦντες εἰ δυναίμεθα, τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν; ἆρ'
οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι ὡς ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα αἰκισά-
μενος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φόβον παράσχοι τοῦ
στρατεῦσαί ποτε ἐπ' αὐτόν; ἀλλ' ὅπως τοι μὴ ἐπ'
ἐκείνῳ γενησόμεθα πάντα ποιητέον.
19 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν οὔποτε
ἐπαυόμην ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτίρων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς
σὺν αὐτῷ μακαρίζων, διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν ὅσην
μὲν χώραν καὶ οἵαν ἔχοιεν, ὡς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ κτήνη,
20 χρυσὸν δέ, ἐσθῆτα δέ· τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
ὁπότε ἐνθυμοίμην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν τούτων
οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μετείη, εἰ μὴ πριαίμεθα, ὅτου δ'
ὠνησόμεθα ᾔδειν ἔτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας, ἄλλως δέ
πως πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ ὠνουμένους ὅρκους
ᾔδη [1] κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς· ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος
ἐνίοτε τὰς σπονδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβούμην ἢ νῦν τὸν
21 πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκεῖνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς σπον-
δάς, λελύσθαι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων ὕβρις καὶ
ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀπορία.[2] ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἤδη κεῖται
ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἆθλα ὁπότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες

[1] ᾔδη Gem., following Rehdantz: ἤδη MSS.
[2] ἀπορία Hude: ὑποψία MSS., Gem., Mar.: ἀσάφεια Hug.

yet if we submit and fall into the King's hands, what do we imagine our fate is to be? Even in the case of his own brother, and, yet more, when he was already dead, this man cut off his head and his hand and impaled them; as for ourselves, then, who have no one to intercede for us,[1] and who took the field against him with the intention of making him a slave rather than a king and of killing him if we could, what fate may we expect to suffer? Will he not do his utmost to inflict upon us the most outrageous tortures, and thus make all mankind afraid ever to undertake an expedition against him? We, then, must make every effort not to fall into his power.

"For my part, so long as the truce lasted I never ceased commiserating ourselves and congratulating the King and his followers; for I saw plainly what a great amount of fine land they possessed, what an abundance of provisions, what quantities of servants, cattle, gold, and apparel; but whenever I took thought of the situation of our own soldiers, I saw that we had no share in these good things, except we bought them, I knew there were but few of us who still had money wherewith to buy, and I knew that our oaths restrained us from getting provisions in any other way than by purchase. Hence, with these considerations in mind, I used sometimes to fear the truce more than I now fear war. But seeing that their own act has put an end to the truce, the end has likewise come, in my opinion, both of their arrogance and of our embarrassment. For now all these good things are offered as prizes for whichever of the two parties shall prove to be

[1] *cp.* I. i. 3 f.

ἀμείνονες ὦσιν, ἀγωνοθέται δ' οἱ θεοί εἰσιν, οἳ
22 σὺν ἡμῖν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔσονται. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ
αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλὰ ὁρῶντες
ἀγαθὰ στερρῶς αὐτῶν ἀπειχόμεθα διὰ τοὺς τῶν
θεῶν ὅρκους· ὥστε ἐξεῖναί μοι δοκεῖ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸν
23 ἀγῶνα πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι ἢ τούτοις. ἔτι
δ' ἔχομεν σώματα ἱκανώτερα τούτων καὶ ψύχη
καὶ θάλπη καὶ πόνους φέρειν· ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ
ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμείνονας· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ
τρωτοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν, ἢν οἱ θεοὶ ὥσπερ
τὸ πρόσθεν νίκην ἡμῖν διδῶσιν.

24 Ἀλλ' ἴσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταὐτὰ ἐνθυμοῦνται,
πρὸς τῶν θεῶν μὴ ἀναμένωμεν ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς
ἐλθεῖν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἔργα,
ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξωμεν τοῦ ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλ-
λους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετήν· φάνητε τῶν λοχαγῶν ἄρι-
στοι καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστρατηγότεροι.
25 κἀγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐθέλετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα,
ἕπεσθαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι, εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς τάττετ' ἐμὲ
ἡγεῖσθαι, οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἡγοῦμαι ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ τὰ
κακά.

26 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ ἀρχηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες
ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον πάντες, πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης
τις ἦν βοιωτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ· οὗτος δ' εἶπεν ὅτι
φλυαροίη ὅστις λέγει ἄλλως πως σωτηρίας ἂν
τυχεῖν ἢ βασιλέα πείσας, εἰ δύναιτο, καὶ ἅμα
27 ἤρχετο λέγειν τὰς ἀπορίας. ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν

the braver men; and the judges of the contest are the gods, who, in all likelihood, will be on our side. For our enemies have sworn falsely by them, while we, with abundant possessions before our eyes, have steadfastly kept our hands therefrom because of our oaths by the gods; hence we, I think, can go into the contest with far greater confidence than can our enemies. Besides, we have bodies more capable than theirs of bearing cold and heat and toil, and we likewise, by the blessing of the gods, have better souls; and these men are more liable than we to be wounded and killed, if the gods again, as on that former day, grant us victory.

"And now, since it may be that others also have these same thoughts in mind, let us not, in the name of the gods, wait for others to come to us and summon us to the noblest deeds, but let us take the lead ourselves and arouse the rest to valour. Show yourselves the best of the captains, and more worthy to be generals than the generals themselves. As for me, if you choose to set out upon this course, I am ready to follow you; but if you assign me the leadership, I do not plead my youth as an excuse; rather, I believe I am in the very prime of my power to ward off dangers from my own head."

Such were Xenophon's words; and upon hearing what he said the officers bade him take the lead, all of them except a man named Apollonides, who spoke in the Boeotian dialect. This man maintained that anyone who said he could gain safety in any other way than by winning the King's consent through persuasion, if possible, was talking nonsense; and at the same time he began to recite the difficulties of their situation. Xenophon, however, interrupted

μεταξὺ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ὦ θαυμασιώτατε ἄνθρωπε, σύγε οὐδὲ ὁρῶν γιγνώσκεις οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι. ἐν ταὐτῷ γε μέντοι ἦσθα τούτοις ὅτε βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε, μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ πέμπων ἐκέλευε παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα.
28 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ παραδόντες, ἀλλ' ἐξοπλισάμενοι ἐλθόντες παρεσκηνήσαμεν αὐτῷ, τί οὐκ ἐποίησε πρέσβεις πέμπων καὶ σπονδὰς αἰτῶν καὶ παρέ-
29 χων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἔστε σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν; ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὥσπερ δὴ σὺ κελεύεις, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ὅπλων ἦλθον πιστεύσαντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς, οὐ νῦν ἐκεῖνοι παιόμενοι, κεντούμενοι, ὑβριζόμενοι οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν οἱ τλήμονες δύνανται, καὶ μάλ' οἶμαι ἐρῶντες τούτου; ἃ σὺ πάντα εἰδὼς τοὺς μὲν ἀμύνασθαι κελεύοντας φλυαρεῖν φῄς, πείθειν δὲ πάλιν κελεύεις
30 ἰόντας; ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μήτε προσίεσθαι εἰς ταὐτὸ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς· ἀφελομένους τε τὴν λοχαγίαν σκεύη ἀναθέντας ὡς τοιούτῳ χρῆσθαι. οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καταισχύνει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι Ἕλλην ὢν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν.

31 Ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολαβὼν Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας προσήκει οὐδὲν οὔτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος παντάπασιν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν εἶδον ὥσπερ Λυδὸν ἀμφότερα τὰ ὦτα
32 τετρυπημένον. καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν

[1] The Greeks considered it effeminate for a man to wear ear-rings. His bored ears, therefore, marked Apollonides as a barbarian.

him in the midst of his talk, and said: "You amazing fellow, you have eyes but still do not perceive, and you have ears but still do not remember. You were present, surely, with the rest of these officers at the time when the King, after the death of Cyrus and in his elation over that event, sent and ordered us to give up our arms. But when, instead of giving them up, we equipped ourselves with them, and went and encamped beside him, what means did he leave untried—sending ambassadors, begging for a truce, offering us provisions—until in the end he obtained a truce? When, however, our generals and captains, following precisely the plan that you are now urging, went unarmed to a conference with them, relying upon the truce, what happened in that case? are they not at this moment being beaten, tortured, insulted, unable even to die, hapless men that they are, even though they earnestly long, I imagine, for death? And do you, knowing all these things, say that they are talking nonsense who urge self-defence, and do you propose that we should again go and try persuasion? In my opinion, gentlemen, we should not simply refuse to admit this fellow to companionship with us, but should deprive him of his captaincy, lay packs on his back, and treat him as that sort of a creature. For the fellow is a disgrace both to his native state and to the whole of Greece, since, being a Greek, he is still a man of this kind."

Then Agasias, a Stymphalian, broke in and said: "For that matter, this fellow has nothing to do either with Boeotia or with any part of Greece at all, for I have noticed that he has both his ears bored,[1] like a Lydian's."[2] In fact, it was so. He, therefore,

[2] The Lydians were proverbially effeminate.

ἀπήλασαν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἰόντες ὅπου μὲν στρατηγὸς σῶος εἴη τὸν στρατηγὸν παρεκάλουν, ὁπόθεν δὲ οἴχοιτο τὸν ὑποστράτηγον, ὅπου δ' αὖ λοχαγὸς σῶος εἴη τὸν λοχαγόν.
33 ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνῆλθον, εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὅπλων ἐκαθέζοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συνελθόντες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν. ὅτε
34 δὲ ταῦτα ἦν σχεδὸν μέσαι ἦσαν νύκτες. ἐνταῦθα Ἱερώνυμος Ἠλεῖος πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν Προξένου λοχαγῶν ἤρχετο λέγειν ὧδε. Ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὁρῶσι τὰ παρόντα ἔδοξε καὶ αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλέσαι, ὅπως βουλευσαίμεθα εἴ τι δυναίμεθα ἀγαθόν. λέξον δ', ἔφη, καὶ νῦν,[1] ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

35 Ἐκ τούτου λέγει τάδε Ξενοφῶν· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης οὓς μὲν ἐδυνήθησαν συνειλήφασιν ἡμῶν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ὡς ἢν δύνωνται ἀπολέσωσιν. ἡμῖν δέ γε οἶμαι πάντα ποιητέα ὡς μήποτε ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενώμεθα,
36 ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι ἐφ' ἡμῖν. εὖ τοίνυν ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ὑμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὅσοι νῦν συνεληλύθατε μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρόν. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὗτοι πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς βλέπουσι, κἂν μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁρῶσιν ἀθύμους, πάντες κακοὶ ἔσονται, ἂν δὲ

[1] *νῦν* Gem., following Carnuth: *σύ* MSS.

was driven away, but the others proceeded to visit the various divisions[1] of the army. Wherever a general was left alive, they would invite him to join them; where the general was gone, they invited the lieutenant-general; or, again, where only a captain was left, the captain. When all had come together, they seated themselves at the front of the encampment, and the generals and captains thus assembled amounted in number to about one hundred. By this time it was nearly midnight. Then Hieronymus the Elean, who was the eldest of Proxenus' captains, began to speak as follows: "Generals and captains, we have deemed it best, in view of the present situation, both to come together ourselves and to invite you to join us, in order that we may devise whatever good counsel we can. Repeat now, Xenophon," he added, "just what you said to us."

Thereupon Xenophon spoke as follows: "We all understand thus much, that the King and Tissaphernes have seized as many as they could of our number, and that they are manifestly plotting against the rest of us, to destroy us if they can. It is for us, then, in my opinion, to make every effort that we may never fall into the power of the barbarians, but that they may rather fall into our power. Be sure, therefore, that you, who have now come together in such numbers, have the grandest of opportunities. For all our soldiers here are looking to you; if they see that you are faint-hearted, all of them will be cowards; but if you not

[1] The division (τάξις) was not a body of any specified size, but comprised the troops under the command of a single general (στρατηγός). See below.

ὑμεῖς αὐτοί τε παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ἦτε ἐπὶ
τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλῆτε, εὖ
ἴστε ὅτι ἕψονται ὑμῖν καὶ πειράσονται μιμεῖσθαι.
37 ἴσως δέ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι
τούτων. ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρ-
χοι καὶ λοχαγοί· καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ἦν, ὑμεῖς καὶ
χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ
νῦν τοίνυν ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιοῦν δεῖ ὑμᾶς
αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι καὶ προ-
βουλεύειν τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν, ἤν που δέῃ.

38 Καὶ νῦν πρῶτον μὲν οἴομαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα
ὠφελῆσαι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθείητε ὅπως
ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὡς τάχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ
λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων
οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο ὡς μὲν
συνελόντι εἰπεῖν οὐδαμοῦ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολε-
μικοῖς παντάπασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σῴζειν
δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν.
39 ἐπειδὰν δὲ καταστήσησθε τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὅσους
δεῖ, ἢν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε
καὶ παραθαρρύνητε, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς πάνυ ἐν
40 καιρῷ ποιῆσαι. νῦν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰσθά-
νεσθε ὡς ἀθύμως μὲν ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀθύμως
δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακάς· ὥστε οὕτω γ᾽ ἐχόντων οὐκ
οἶδα ὅ τι ἄν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς, εἴτε νυκτὸς δέοι
41 εἴτε καὶ ἡμέρας. ἢν δέ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς γνώ-
μας, ὡς μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται τί πείσονται

only show that you are making preparations yourselves against the enemy, but call upon the rest to do likewise, be well assured that they will follow you and will try to imitate you. But perhaps it is really proper that you should somewhat excel them. For you are generals, you are lieutenant-generals and captains; while peace lasted, you had the advantage of them alike in pay and in standing; now, therefore, when a state of war exists, it is right to expect that you should be superior to the common soldiers, and that you should plan for them and toil for them whenever there be need.

"And now, firstly, I think you would do the army a great service if you should see to it that generals and captains are appointed as speedily as possible to take the places of those who are lost. For without leaders nothing fine or useful can be accomplished in any field, to put it broadly, and certainly not in warfare. For discipline, it seems, keeps men in safety, while the lack of it has brought many ere now to destruction. Secondly, when you have appointed all the leaders that are necessary, I think you would perform a very opportune act if you should gather together the rest of the soldiers also and try to encourage them. For, as matters stand now, perhaps you have observed for yourselves in what dejection they came to their quarters and in what dejection they proceeded to their picket duty; and so long as they are in this state, I know not what use one could make of them, if there should be need of them either by night or by day. If, however, we can turn the current of their minds, so that they shall be thinking, not merely of what they are to suffer, but likewise of what they are

ἀλλὰ καὶ τί ποιήσουσι, πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται.
42 ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δὴ ὅτι οὔτε πλῆθός ἐστιν οὔτε
ἰσχὺς ἡ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας ποιοῦσα, ἀλλ᾽
ὁπότεροι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέ-
στεροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ
43 τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἀντίοι οὐ δέχονται. ἐντεθύμημαι δ᾽
ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁπόσοι μὲν μασ-
τεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς,
οὗτοι μὲν κακῶς τε καὶ αἰσχρῶς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ
ἀποθνῄσκουσιν, ὁπόσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν θάνατον ἐγνώ-
κασι πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις,
περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνῄσκειν ἀγωνίζονται,
τούτους ὁρῶ μᾶλλόν πως εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνου-
μένους καὶ ἕως ἂν ζῶσιν εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγον-
44 τας. ἃ καὶ ἡμᾶς[1] δεῖ νῦν καταμαθόντας, ἐν τοιούτῳ
γὰρ καιρῷ ἐσμεν, αὐτούς τε ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι
45 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν
ἐπαύσατο.
Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε Χειρίσοφος· Ἀλλὰ πρό-
σθεν μέν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τοσοῦτον μόνον σε ἐγίγνω-
σκον ὅσον ἤκουον Ἀθηναῖον εἶναι, νῦν δὲ καὶ
ἐπαινῶ σε ἐφ᾽ οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ πράττεις καὶ
βουλοίμην ἂν ὅτι πλείστους εἶναι τοιούτους·
46 κοινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀγαθόν. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, μὴ
μέλλωμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἱρεῖσθε
οἱ δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἑλόμενοι ἥκετε εἰς τὸ
μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ἄγετε·
ἔπειτ᾽ ἐκεῖ συγκαλοῦμεν[2] τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώ-

[1] ἡμᾶς the inferior MSS., Gem.: ὑμᾶς the better MSS., Mar.

[2] συγκαλοῦμεν MSS., Mar.: συγκαλῶμεν Gem., following Nitsche.

going to do, they will be far more cheerful. For you understand, I am sure, that it is neither numbers nor strength which wins victories in war; but whichever of the two sides it be whose troops, by the blessing of the gods, advance to the attack with stouter hearts, against those troops their adversaries generally refuse to stand. And in my own experience, gentlemen, I have observed this other fact, that those who are anxious in war to save their lives in any way they can, are the very men who usually meet with a base and shameful death; while those who have recognized that death is the common and inevitable portion of all mankind and therefore strive to meet death nobly, are precisely those who are somehow more likely to reach old age and who enjoy a happier existence while they do live. We, then, taking to heart this lesson, so suited to the crisis which now confronts us, must be brave men ourselves and call forth bravery in our fellows." With these words Xenophon ceased speaking.

After him Cheirisophus said: "Hitherto, Xenophon, I have known you only to the extent of having heard that you were an Athenian, but now I commend you both for your words and your deeds, and I should be glad if we had very many of your sort; for it would be a blessing to the entire army. And now, gentlemen," he went on, "let us not delay; withdraw and choose your commanders at once, you who need them, and after making your choices come to the middle of the camp and bring with you the men you have selected; then we will call a meeting there of all the troops. And let

47 τας. παρέστω δ' ἡμῖν, ἔφη, καὶ Τολμίδης ὁ κῆρυξ. καὶ ἅμα ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέστη, ὡς μὴ μέλλοιτο ἀλλὰ περαίνοιτο τὰ δέοντα. ἐκ τούτου ᾑρέθησαν ἄρχοντες ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρχου Τιμασίων Δαρδανεύς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθικλῆς Ἀχαιός, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Κλεάνωρ Ἀρκάς,[1] ἀντὶ δὲ Μένωνος Φιλήσιος Ἀχαιός, ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος.

II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾕρηντο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέφαινε καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἧκον οἱ ἄρχοντες, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προφυλακὰς καταστήσαντας συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται συνῆλθον, ἀνέστη πρῶτος μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ
2 Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ὁπότε ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιούτων στερόμεθα καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαῖον οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες προδεδώκασιν ἡμᾶς·
3 ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τελέθειν καὶ μὴ ὑφίεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι ὅπως ἢν μὲν δυνώμεθα καλῶς νικῶντες σῳζώμεθα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ὑποχείριοι δὲ μηδέποτε γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἴομαι γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν οἷα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν.
4 Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν βασιλέως ἐπιορκίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν, ὁρᾶτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρνους ἀπιστίαν, ὅστις λέγων ὡς γείτων τε

[1] Κλεάνωρ Ἀρκάς the inferior MSS., Mar.: Ἀρκάδος Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος the better MSS., which Gem. follows, bracketing Ἀρκάδος.

us make sure," he added, "that Tolmides, the herald, is present." With these words he got up at once, that there might be no delay in carrying out the needful measures. Thereupon the commanders were chosen, Timasion the Dardanian in place of Clearchus, Xanthicles the Achaean in place of Socrates, Cleanor the Arcadian in place of Agias, Philesius the Achaean in place of Menon, and Xenophon the Athenian in place of Proxenus.

II. When these elections had been completed, and as day was just about beginning to break, the commanders met in the middle of the camp; and they resolved to station outposts and then call an assembly of the soldiers. As soon as they had come together, Cheirisophus the Lacedaemonian arose first and spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, painful indeed is our present situation, seeing that we are robbed of such generals and captains and soldiers, and, besides, that Ariaeus and his men, who were formerly our allies, have betrayed us; nevertheless, we must quit ourselves like brave men as well as may be in these circumstances, and must not yield, but rather try to save ourselves by glorious victory if we can; otherwise, let us at least die a glorious death, and never fall into the hands of our enemies alive. For in that case I think we should meet the sort of sufferings that I pray the gods may visit upon our foes."

Then Cleanor the Orchomenian arose and spoke as follows: "Come, fellow-soldiers, you see the perjury and impiety of the King; you see likewise the faithlessness of Tissaphernes. It was Tissaphernes who said[1] that he was a neighbour of Greece and that

[1] II. iii. 18.

εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ περὶ πλείστου ἂν ποιήσαιτο σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ὀμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ Δία ξένιον ᾐδέσθη, ἀλλὰ Κλεάρχῳ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν.
5 Ἀριαῖος δέ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠθέλομεν βασιλέα καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστὰ μὴ προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς δείσας οὔτε Κῦρον τεθνηκότα αἰδεσθείς, τιμώμενος μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζῶντος, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστὰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κύρου
6 φίλους κακῶς ποιεῖν πειρᾶται. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτείσαιντο· ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὁρῶντας μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ μαχομένους ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα τοῦτο ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς πάσχειν.

7 Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα, νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδοῖεν οἱ θεοί, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾶν πρέπειν, εἴτε τελευτᾶν δέοι, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν· τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε.
8 Τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιορκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς οἶμαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἰέναι, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὁρῶντας

he would do his utmost to save us; it was none other than he who gave us his oaths to confirm these words; and then he, Tissaphernes, the very man who had given such pledges, was the very man who deceived and seized our generals. More than that, he did not even reverence Zeus, the god of hospitality; instead, he entertained Clearchus at his own table[1] and then made that very act the means of deceiving and destroying the generals. Ariaeus, too, whom we were ready to make king,[2] with whom we exchanged pledges[3] not to betray one another, even he, showing neither fear of the gods nor honour for the memory of Cyrus dead, although he was most highly honoured by Cyrus living, has now gone over to the bitterest foes of that same Cyrus, and is trying to work harm to us, the friends of Cyrus. Well, may these men be duly punished by the gods; we, however, seeing their deeds, must never again be deceived by them, but must fight as stoutly as we can and meet whatever fortune the gods may please to send."

Hereupon Xenophon arose, arrayed for war in his finest dress. For he thought that if the gods should grant victory, the finest raiment was suited to victory; and if it should be his fate to die, it was proper, he thought, that inasmuch as he had accounted his office worthy of the most beautiful attire, in this attire he should meet his death. He began his speech as follows: "The perjury and faithlessness of the barbarians has been spoken of by Cleanor and is understood, I imagine, by the rest of you. If, then, it is our desire to be again on terms of friendship with them, we must needs feel great despondency

[1] II. v. 27. [2] II. i. 4. [3] II. ii. 8.

καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἳ διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς ἑαυ-
τοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἷα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μέντοι δια-
νοούμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὧν τε πεποιήκασι δίκην
ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ παντὸς πολέ-
μου αὐτοῖς ἰέναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλαὶ ἡμῖν καὶ
καλαὶ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ σωτηρίας.
9 Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πτάρνυταί τις· ἀκού-
σαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες μιᾷ ὁρμῇ προσ-
εκύνησαν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· Δοκεῖ
μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων
οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐφάνη, εὔξασθαι τῷ
θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήρια ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς
φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα, συνεπεύξασθαι δὲ καὶ
τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. καὶ ὅτῳ
δοκεῖ ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. καὶ
ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. ἐκ τούτου ηὔξαντο καὶ ἐπαι-
άνισαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο
πάλιν ὧδε.
10 Ἐτύγχανον λέγων ὅτι πολλαὶ καὶ καλαὶ
ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἶεν σωτηρίας. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ
ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὅρκους, οἱ δὲ
πολέμιοι ἐπιωρκήκασί τε καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς παρὰ
τοὺς ὅρκους λελύκασιν. οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων εἰκὸς
τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς θεούς,
ἡμῖν δὲ συμμάχους, οἵπερ ἱκανοί εἰσι καὶ τοὺς
μεγάλους ταχὺ μικροὺς ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς
κἂν ἐν δεινοῖς ὦσι σῴζειν εὐπετῶς, ὅταν βούλων-
11 ται. ἔπειτα δὲ ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν
προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὡς

[1] The sneeze was a lucky sign, and particularly lucky because it came at just the time when Xenophon was uttering the word *σωτηρίας*, "deliverance."

when we see the fate of our generals, who trustingly put themselves in their hands; but if our intention is to rely upon our arms, and not only to inflict punishment upon them for their past deeds, but henceforth to wage implacable war with them, we have —the gods willing—many fair hopes of deliverance."

As he was saying this a man sneezed,[1] and when the soldiers heard it, they all with one impulse made obeisance to the god;[2] and Xenophon said, "I move, gentlemen, since at the moment when we were talking about deliverance an omen from Zeus the Saviour was revealed to us, that we make a vow to sacrifice to that god thank-offerings for deliverance as soon as we reach a friendly land; and that we add a further vow to make sacrifices, to the extent of our ability, to the other gods also. All who are in favour of this motion," he said, "will raise their hands." And every man in the assembly raised his hand. Thereupon they made their vows and struck up the paean. These ceremonies duly performed, Xenophon began again with these words:

"I was saying that we have many fair hopes of deliverance. For, in the first place, we are standing true to the oaths we took in the name of the gods, while our enemies have perjured themselves and, in violation of their oaths, have broken the truce. This being so, it is fair to assume that the gods are their foes and our allies—and the gods are able speedily to make the strong weak and, when they so will, easily to deliver the weak, even though they be in dire perils. Secondly, I would remind you of the perils of our own forefathers, to show you not only

[2] Zeus Soter, who was presumed (see below) to have sent the omen.

ἀγαθοῖς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι σῴζονταί τε σὺν
τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάνυ δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοί. ἐλθόν-
των μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παμ-
πληθεῖ στόλῳ ὡς ἀφανιούντων τὰς Ἀθήνας,
ὑποστῆναι αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες ἐνίκησαν
12 αὐτούς. καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὁπόσους
κατακάνοιεν τῶν πολεμίων τοσαύτας χιμαίρας
καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον ἱκανὰς εὑρεῖν,
ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσίας θύειν,
13 καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἀποθύουσιν. ἔπειτα ὅτε Ξέρξης
ὕστερον ἀγείρας τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατιὰν ἦλθεν
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι
πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων προγόνους καὶ κατὰ γῆν
καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ὧν ἔστι μὲν τεκμήρια ὁρᾶν
τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον ἡ ἐλευθερία
τῶν πόλεων ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἐτράφητε·
οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς
προσκυνεῖτε. τοιούτων μέν ἐστε προγόνων.
14 Οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ ὡς ὑμεῖς καταισχύ-
νετε αὐτούς· ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πολλαὶ ἡμέραι ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἀντι-
ταξάμενοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνοις πολλα-
πλασίους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνικᾶτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς.
15 καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες
ἦτε ἀγαθοί· νῦν δ᾽ ὁπότε περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτη-
ρίας ὁ ἀγών ἐστι πολὺ δήπου ὑμᾶς προσήκει καὶ
16 ἀμείνονας καὶ προθυμοτέρους εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν
καὶ θαρραλεωτέρους νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς

[1] In the battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.

[2] According to Herodotus (vi. 117) the Persian dead numbered 6,400.

[3] Herodotus (vii. 185) puts the whole number of fighting men in Xerxes' armament at 2,641,610.

that it is your right to be brave men, but that brave men are delivered, with the help of the gods, even out of most dreadful dangers. For when the Persians and their followers came with a vast array to blot Athens out of existence, the Athenians dared, unaided, to withstand them, and won the victory.[1] And while they had vowed to Artemis that for every man they might slay of the enemy they would sacrifice a goat to the goddess, they were unable to find goats enough;[2] so they resolved to offer five hundred every year, and this sacrifice they are paying even to this day. Again, when Xerxes at a later time gathered together that countless[3] host and came against Greece, then too our forefathers were victorious, both by land and by sea,[4] over the forefathers of our enemies. As tokens of these victories we may, indeed, still behold the trophies, but the strongest witness to them is the freedom of the states in which you were born and bred; for to no human creature do you pay homage as master, but to the gods alone. It is from such ancestors, then, that you are sprung.

"Now I am far from intending to say that you disgrace them; in fact, not many days ago you set yourselves in array against these descendants of those ancient Persians and were victorious, with the aid of the gods, over many times your own numbers. And then, mark you, it was in Cyrus' contest for the throne that you proved yourselves brave men; but now, when the struggle is for your own safety, it is surely fitting that you should be far braver and more zealous. Furthermore, you ought now to be more

[4] By sea at Salamis (480 B.C.) and by land at Plataea (479 B.C.).

πολεμίους. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὄντες αὐτῶν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἄμετρον ὁρῶντες, ὅμως ἐτολμήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι ἰέναι εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δὲ ὁπότε καὶ πεῖραν ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐ θέλουσι καὶ πολλαπλάσιοι ὄντες δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ἔτι ὑμῖν προσήκει τούτους φοβεῖσθαι;

17 Μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μεῖον δόξητε ἔχειν ὅτι οἱ Ἀριαίου[1] πρόσθεν σὺν ἡμῖν ταττόμενοι νῦν ἀφεστήκασιν. ἔτι γὰρ οὗτοι κακίονές εἰσι τῶν ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἡττημένων· ἔφυγον γοῦν[2] ἐκείνους καταλιπόντες ἡμᾶς. τοὺς δὲ θέλοντας φυγῆς ἄρχειν πολὺ κρεῖττον σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ταττομένους ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τάξει ὁρᾶν.

18 Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἀθυμεῖ ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἱππεῖς, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις πολλοὶ πάρεισιν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἱππεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μύριοί εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε δηχθεὶς οὔτε λακτισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες ὅ τι ἂν ἐν
19 ταῖς μάχαις γίγνηται. οὐκοῦν τῶν ἱππέων πολὺ ἡμεῖς ἐπ᾽ ἀσφαλεστέρου ὀχήματός ἐσμεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ᾽ ἵππων κρέμανται φοβούμενοι οὐχ ἡμᾶς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπεσεῖν· ἡμεῖς δ᾽ ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες πολὺ μὲν ἰσχυρότερον παίσομεν, ἤν τις προσίῃ, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτου ἂν βουλώμεθα τευξόμεθα. ἑνὶ δὲ μόνῳ προέχουσιν οἱ ἱππεῖς·
20 φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἡμῖν. εἰ δὲ

[1] Ἀριαίου Gem., following Hug: Κύρειοι MSS.
[2] After γοῦν the MSS. have πρὸς: del. Hertlein.

confident in facing the enemy. For then you were unacquainted with them, you saw that their numbers were beyond counting, and you nevertheless dared, with all the spirit of your fathers, to charge upon them; but now, when you have already made actual trial of them and find that they have no desire, even though they are many times your number, to await your attack, what reason can remain for your being afraid of them?

"Again, do not suppose that you are the worse off because the followers of Ariaeus, who were formerly marshalled with us, have now deserted us. For they are even greater cowards than the men we defeated; at any rate they took to flight before them,[1] leaving us to shift for ourselves. And when we find men who are ready to set the example of flight, it is far better to see them drawn up with the enemy than on our own side.

"But if anyone of you is despondent because we are without horsemen while the enemy have plenty at hand, let him reflect that your ten thousand horsemen are nothing more than ten thousand men; for nobody ever lost his life in battle from the bite or kick of a horse, but it is the men who do whatever is done in battles. Moreover, we are on a far surer foundation than your horsemen: they are hanging on their horses' backs, afraid not only of us, but also of falling off; while we, standing upon the ground, shall strike with far greater force if anyone comes upon us and shall be far more likely to hit whomsoever we aim at. In one point alone your horsemen have the advantage—flight is safer for them than it is for us. Suppose, however, that you

[1] *cp.* I. ix. 31–x. 1.

δὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας θαρρεῖτε, ὅτι δὲ οὐκέτι ὑμῖν
Τισσαφέρνης ἡγήσεται οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν
παρέξει, τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε πότερον κρεῖτ-
τον Τισσαφέρνην ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὃς ἐπιβουλεύων
ἡμῖν φανερός ἐστιν, ἢ οὓς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας λαβόν-
τες ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύωμεν, οἳ εἴσονται ὅτι ἤν τι
περὶ ἡμᾶς ἁμαρτάνωσι, περὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς
21 καὶ σώματα ἁμαρτήσονται. τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια
πότερον ὠνεῖσθαι κρεῖττον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἧς οὗτοι
παρεῖχον μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου, μηδὲ
τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, ἤνπερ
κρατῶμεν, μέτρῳ χρωμένους ὁπόσῳ ἂν ἕκαστος
βούληται;
22 Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γιγνώσκετε ὅτι κρείττονα,
τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι καὶ μεγά-
λως ἡγεῖσθε ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε
εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρ-
βαροι. πάντες γὰρ ποταμοί, ἢν καὶ πρόσω
τῶν πηγῶν ἄποροι ὦσι, προσϊοῦσι πρὸς τὰς
πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίγνονται οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέ-
χοντες.
23 Εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διήσουσιν ἡγεμών τε
μηδεὶς ἡμῖν φανεῖται, οὐδ' ὣς ἡμῖν γε ἀθυμητέον.

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[1] *e.g.* the Tigris (II. iv. 13–24).

[2] *viz.* in leading the Greeks across (*i.e.* to the eastern bank of) the Tigris. For, Xenophon argues (see below), the

do not lack confidence about the fighting, but are troubled because you are no longer to have Tissaphernes to guide you or the King to provide a market. If this be the case, I ask you to consider whether it is better to have Tissaphernes for a guide, the man who is manifestly plotting against us, or such people as we may ourselves capture and may order to serve as guides, men who will know that if they make any mistake in aught that concerns us, they will be making a mistake in that which concerns their own lives and limbs. And as for provisions, is it the better plan to buy from the market which these barbarians have provided—small measures for large prices, when we have no money left, either—or to appropriate for ourselves, in case we are victorious, and to use as large a measure as each one of us pleases?

"But in these points, let us say, you realize that our present situation is better; you believe, however, that the rivers are a difficulty, and you think you were immensely deceived when you crossed them;[1] then consider whether this is not really a surpassingly foolish thing that the barbarians have done.[2] For all rivers, even though they be impassable at a distance from their sources, become passable, without even wetting your knees, as you approach toward the sources.

"But assume that the rivers will not afford us a crossing and that we shall find no one to guide us; even in that case we ought not to be despondent.

Greeks will now be compelled to march to the source of the river in order to cross, and hence will be living on the country so much the longer a time.

ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσούς, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν φαίημεν βελτίους εἶναι, ὅτι[1] ἐν βασιλέως χώρᾳ πολλάς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας καὶ μεγάλας πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πισίδας ὡσαύτως, Λυκάονας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἴδομεν ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἐρυμνὰ καταλαβόντες τὴν τούτων χώραν καρ-
24 ποῦνται. καὶ ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν ἔφην ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς εἶναι οἴκαδε ὡρμημένους, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι ὡς αὐτοῦ οἰκήσοντας. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖς βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἂν δοίη, πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ὁμήρους τοῦ ἀδόλως ἐκπέμψειν, καὶ ὁδοποιήσειέ γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς κα. εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλοιντο ἀπιέναι. καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἂν οἶδ' ὅτι τρισάσμενος ταῦτ' ἐποίει, εἰ ἑώρα ἡμᾶς
25 μένειν κατασκευαζομένους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα μή, ἂν ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἀργοὶ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὁμιλεῖν, μὴ ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε
26 ὁδοῦ. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειρᾶσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅτι ἑκόντες πένονται, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν σκληρῶς ἐκεῖ πολιτεύοντας ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους πλουσίους ὁρᾶν.

Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τἀγαθὰ

[1] After ὅτι, Mar. and some other edd. insert the words βασιλέως ἄκοντος, which appear in the margin of MS. C_1.

For we know that the Mysians,[1] whom we should not admit to be better men than ourselves, inhabit many large and prosperous cities in the King's territory, we know that the same is true of the Pisidians,[1] and as for the Lycaonians[1] we even saw with our own eyes that they had seized the strongholds in the plains and were reaping for themselves the lands of these Persians; so, in our case, my own view would be that we ought not yet to let it be seen that we have set out for home; we ought, rather, to be making our arrangements as if we intended to settle here. For I know that to the Mysians the King would not only give plenty of guides, but plenty of hostages, to guarantee a safe conduct for them out of his country; in fact, he would build a road for them, even if they wanted to take their departure in four-horse chariots. And I know that he would be thrice glad to do the same for us, if he saw that we were preparing to stay here. I really fear, however, that if we once learn to live in idleness and luxury, and to consort with the tall and beautiful women and maidens of these Medes and Persians, we may, like the lotus-eaters,[2] forget our homeward way. Therefore, I think it is right and proper that our first endeavour should be to return to our kindred and friends in Greece, and to point out to the Greeks that it is by their own choice that they are poor; for they could bring here the people who are now living a hard life at home, and could see them in the enjoyment of riches.

"It is really a plain fact, gentlemen, that all these

[1] Peoples of Asia Minor who were in almost constant rebellion against Persian authority; *cp.* esp. I. ii. 19, II. v. 13.

[2] An allusion to *Odyssey*, ix. 94 ff.

27 δῆλον ὅτι τῶν κρατούντων ἐστί· τοῦτο δὴ[1] δεῖ
λέγειν, ὅπως ἂν πορευοίμεθά τε ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα
καὶ εἰ μάχεσθαι δέοι ὡς κράτιστα μαχοίμεθα.
πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι
τὰς ἁμάξας ἃς ἔχομεν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν
στρατηγῇ, ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ὅπῃ ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ
συμφέρῃ· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς συγκατακαῦσαι.
αὗται γὰρ αὖ ὄχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν ἄγειν, συνω-
φελοῦσι δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι οὔτ' εἰς
28 τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
σκευῶν τὰ περιττὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν πλὴν ὅσα
πολέμου ἕνεκεν ἢ σίτων ἢ ποτῶν ἔχομεν, ἵνα ὡς
πλεῖστοι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὦσιν, ὡς ἐλά-
χιστοι δὲ σκευοφορῶσι. κρατουμένων μὲν γὰρ
ἐπίστασθε ὅτι πάντα ἀλλότρια· ἢν δὲ κρατῶμεν,
καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεῖ σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους
νομίζειν.
29 Λοιπόν μοι εἰπεῖν ὅπερ καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω
εἶναι. ὁρᾶτε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι οὐ
πρόσθεν ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον
πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον, νομί-
ζοντες ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡμῶν πειθο-
μένων ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ,
λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀναρχίᾳ ἂν καὶ ἀταξίᾳ
30 ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. δεῖ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς
ἄρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρους γενέσθαι τοὺς νῦν τῶν
πρόσθεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐτακτοτέρους
καὶ πειθομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἄρχουσι νῦν ἢ

[1] δὴ MSS., Mar.: δὲ Gem., following Castalio.

good things belong to those who have the strength to possess them; but I must go on to another point, how we can march most safely and, if we have to fight, can fight to the best advantage. In the first place, then," Xenophon proceeded, "I think we should burn up the wagons which we have, so that our cattle may not be our captains, but we can take whatever route may be best for the army. Secondly, we should burn up our tents also; for these, again, are a bother to carry, and no help at all either for fighting or for obtaining provisions. Furthermore, let us abandon all our other superfluous baggage, keeping only such articles as we use for war, or in eating and drinking, in order that we may have the largest possible number of men under arms and the least number carrying baggage. For when men are conquered, you are aware that all their possessions become the property of others; but if we are victorious, we may regard the enemy as our pack-bearers.

"It remains for me to mention the one matter which I believe is really of the greatest importance. You observe that our enemies did not muster up courage to begin hostilities against us until they had seized our generals; for they believed that so long as we had our commanders and were obedient to them, we were able to worst them in war, but when they had got possession of our commanders, they believed that the want of leadership and of discipline would be the ruin of us. Therefore our present commanders must show themselves far more vigilant than their predecessors, and the men in the ranks must be far more orderly and more obedient to their

31 πρόσθεν· ἢν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, ψηφίσασθαι τὸν ἀεὶ
ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα σὺν τῷ ἄρχοντι κολάζειν·
οὕτως οἱ πολέμιοι πλεῖστον ἐψευσμένοι ἔσονται·
τῇδε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μυρίους ὄψονται ἀνθ' ἑνὸς
Κλεάρχους τοὺς οὐδενὶ ἐπιτρέψοντας κακῷ εἶναι.
32 ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαίνειν ἤδη ὥρα· ἴσως γὰρ οἱ
πολέμιοι αὐτίκα παρέσονται. ὅτῳ οὖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ
καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἵνα ἔργῳ
περαίνηται. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτῃ,
τολμάτω καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ
κοινῆς σωτηρίας δεόμεθα.
33 Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' εἰ μέν
τινος ἄλλου δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις οἷς λέγει Ξενοφῶν,
καὶ αὐτίκα ἐξέσται σκοπεῖν·[1] ἃ δὲ νῦν εἴρηκε
δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα ψηφίσασθαι ἄριστον εἶναι·
καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα.
ἀνέτειναν πάντες.
34 Ἀναστὰς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· Ὦ ἄνδρες,
ἀκούσατε ὧν προσδοκεῖ μοι. δῆλον ὅτι πορεύ-
εσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου ἕξομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἀκούω
δὲ κώμας εἶναι καλὰς οὐ πλέον εἴκοσι σταδίων
35 ἀπεχούσας· οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμεν εἰ οἱ πολέ-
μιοι, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας
διώκουσί τε[2] καὶ δάκνουσιν, ἢν δύνωνται, τοὺς δὲ
διώκοντας φεύγουσιν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ἀπιοῦσιν

[1] σκοπεῖν Gem., following Schwartz : ποιεῖν MSS.
[2] διώκουσί τε MSS. except C_1, Mar.: διώκοντες C_1, Gem.

commanders now than they used to be. We must pass a vote that, in case anyone is disobedient, whoever of you may be at hand at the time shall join with the officer in punishing him; in this way the enemy will find themselves mightily deceived; for to-day they will behold, not one Clearchus,[1] but ten thousand, who will not suffer anybody to be a bad soldier. But it is time now to be acting instead of talking; for perhaps the enemy will soon be at hand. Whoever, then, thinks that these proposals are good should ratify them with all speed, that they may be carried out in action. But if any other plan is thought better than mine, let anyone, even though he be a private soldier, feel free to present it; for the safety of all is the need of all."

After this Cheirisophus said: "We shall be able to consider presently whether we need to do anything else besides what Xenophon proposes, but on the proposals which he has already made I think it is best for us to vote as speedily as possible. Whoever is in favour of these measures, let him raise his hand." They all raised their hands.

Then Xenophon arose once more and said: "Give ear, gentlemen, to the further proposals I have to present. It is clear that we must make our way to a place where we can get provisions; and I hear that there are fine villages at a distance of not more than twenty stadia. We should not be surprised, then, if the enemy—after the fashion of cowardly dogs that chase passers-by and bite them, if they can, but run away from anyone who chases them—if the enemy in the same way should follow at our

[1] Clearchus was notoriously a stern disciplinarian; *cp.* II. vi. 8 ff.

36 ἐπακολουθοῖεν. ἴσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν
πορεύεσθαι πλαίσιον ποιησαμένους· τῶν ὅπλων,
ἵνα τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἐν ἀσφα-
λεστέρῳ εἴη. εἰ οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθείη τίνας χρὴ
ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν
καὶ τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἑκατέρων εἶναι, τίνας δ'
ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι ἔλθοιεν
βουλεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς δέοι, ἀλλὰ χρῴμεθα ἂν εὐθὺς
37 τοῖς τεταγμένοις. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τις βέλτιον
ὁρᾷ, ἄλλως ἐχέτω· εἰ δὲ μή, Χειρίσοφος μὲν
ἡγοῖτο, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιός ἐστι· τῶν δὲ
πλευρῶν ἑκατέρων δύο τὼ πρεσβυτάτω στρατηγὼ
ἐπιμελοίσθην· ὀπισθοφυλακοῖμεν δ' ἡμεῖς οἱ
38 νεώτατοι ἐγὼ καὶ Τιμασίων τὸ νῦν εἶναι. τὸ δὲ
λοιπὸν πειρώμενοι ταύτης τῆς τάξεως βουλευσό-
μεθα ὅ τι ἂν ἀεὶ κράτιστον δοκῇ εἶναι. εἰ δέ τις
ἄλλο ὁρᾷ βέλτιον, λεξάτω. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδεὶς ἀντέ-
λεγεν, εἶπεν· Ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν
39 χεῖρα. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἀπιόντας
ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ δεδογμένα. καὶ ὅστις τε ὑμῶν τοὺς
οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς
εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλως τούτου τυχεῖν· ὅστις
τε ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖ, πειράσθω νικᾶν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ
νικώντων τὸ καίνειν, τῶν δὲ ἡττωμένων τὸ ἀπο-
θνήσκειν ἐστί· καὶ εἴ τις δὲ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ,
κρατεῖν πειράσθω· τῶν γὰρ νικώντων ἐστὶ καὶ
τὰ ἑαυτῶν σῴζειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων λαμ-
βάνειν.

heels as we retire. Hence it will be safer, perhaps, for us to march with the hoplites formed into a hollow square, so that the baggage train and the great crowd of camp followers may be in a safer place. If, then, it should be settled at once who are to lead the square and marshal the van, who are to be on either flank, and who to guard the rear, we should not need to be taking counsel at the time when the enemy comes upon us, but we should find our men at once in their places ready for action. Now if anyone sees another plan which is better, let us follow that plan; but if not, I propose that Cheirisophus take the lead, especially since he is a Lacedaemonian, that the two oldest generals have charge of the two flanks, and that, for the present, we who are the youngest, Timasion and I, command the rear. And for the future, as we make trial of this formation we can adopt whatever course may seem from time to time to be best. If anyone sees a better plan, let him present it." No one having any opposing view to express, Xenophon said: "Whoever is in favour of these measures, let him raise his hand." The motion was carried. "And now," he continued, "we must go back and put into execution what has been resolved upon. And whoever among you desires to see his friends again, let him remember to show himself a brave man; for in no other way can he accomplish this desire. Again, whoever is desirous of saving his life, let him strive for victory; for it is the victors that slay and the defeated that are slain. Or if anyone longs for wealth, let him also strive to conquer; for conquerors not only keep their own possessions, but gain the possessions of the conquered."

III. Τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατέκαιον τὰς ἁμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηνάς, τῶν δὲ περιττῶν ὅτου μὲν δέοιτό τις μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐρρίπτουν. ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἠριστοποιοῦντο. ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθραδάτης σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς
2 εἰς ἐπήκοον λέγει ὧδε. Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν εὔνους· καὶ ἐνθάδε δ' εἰμὶ σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. εἰ οὖν ὁρῴην ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν τι βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας πάντας ἔχων. λέξατε οὖν πρός με τί ἐν νῷ ἔχετε ὡς φίλον τε καὶ εὔνουν καὶ βουλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν
3 ὑμῖν τὸν στόλον ποιεῖσθαι. βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τάδε· καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος· Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, εἰ μέν τις ἐᾷ ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἀσινέστατα· ἢν δέ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύῃ,[1] διαπολεμεῖν τούτῳ ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα
4 κράτιστα. ἐκ τούτου ἐπειρᾶτο Μιθραδάτης διδάσκειν ὡς ἄπορον εἴη βασιλέως ἄκοντος σωθῆναι. ἔνθα δὴ ἐγιγνώσκετο ὅτι ὑπόπεμπτος εἴη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνους τις οἰκείων παρηκολουθήκει
5 πίστεως ἕνεκα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐδόκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα ποιήσασθαι τὸν

[1] ἀποκωλύῃ MSS. except C_1, Mar.: ἐπικωλύῃ C_1, Gem.

III. After these words of Xenophon's the assembly arose, and all went back to camp and proceeded to burn the wagons and the tents. As for the superfluous articles of baggage, whatever anybody needed they shared with one another, but the rest they threw into the fire. When they had done all this, they set about preparing breakfast; and while they were so engaged, Mithradates[1] approached with about thirty horsemen, summoned the Greek generals within earshot, and spoke as follows: "Men of Greece, I was faithful to Cyrus, as you know for yourselves, and I am now friendly to you; indeed, I am tarrying here in great fear. Therefore if I should see that you were taking salutary measures, I should join you and bring all my retainers with me. Tell me, then, what you have in mind, in the assurance that I am your friend and well-wisher, and am desirous of making the journey in company with you." The generals held council and voted to return the following answer, Cheirisophus acting as spokesman: "It is our resolve, in case no one hinders our homeward march, to proceed through the country doing the least possible damage, but if anyone tries to prevent us from making the journey, to fight it out with him to the best of our power." Thereupon Mithradates undertook to show that there was no possibility of their effecting a safe return unless the King so pleased. Then it became clear to the Greeks that his mission was a treacherous one; indeed, one of Tissaphernes' relatives had followed along, to see that he kept faith. The generals consequently decided that it was best to pass a decree that there should be no negotiations with the enemy in this war

[1] *cp.* II. v. 35.

πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι ἔστ' ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εἶεν· διέφθειρον γὰρ προσιόντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἕνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ ᾤχετο ἀπιὼν νυκτὸς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἴκοσι.

6 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀριστήσαντες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες. οὐ πολὺ δὲ προεληλυθότων αὐτῶν ἐπιφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ Μιθραδάτης, ἱππέας ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακοσίους
7 μάλα ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐζώνους. καὶ προσῄει μὲν ὡς φίλος ὢν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, ἐξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνων, καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. οἱ δὲ ὀπισθοφύλακες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς, ἀντεποίουν δ' οὐδέν· οἵ τε γὰρ Κρῆτες βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ ἅμα ψιλοὶ ὄντες εἴσω τῶν ὅπλων κατεκέκλειντο, οἱ δὲ ἀκοντισταὶ βραχύτερα ἠκόντιζον ἢ ὡς
8 ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν. ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶντι ἐδόκει διωκτέον εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν οἳ ἔτυχον σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες· διώκοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατε-
9 λάμβανον τῶν πολεμίων. οὔτε γὰρ ἱππεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὔτε οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ[1] φεύγοντας ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν ἐν

[1] ἐκ πολλοῦ MSS. except C_1, Mar.: Gem. omits, following C_1.

so long as they should be in the enemy's country. For the barbarians kept coming and trying to corrupt the soldiers; in the case of one captain, Nicarchus the Arcadian, they actually succeeded, and he decamped during the night, taking with him about twenty men.

After this they took breakfast, crossed the Zapatas[1] river, and set out on the march in the formation decided upon,[2] with the baggage animals and the camp followers in the middle of the square. They had not proceeded far when Mithradates appeared again, accompanied by about two hundred horsemen and by bowmen and slingers—exceedingly active and nimble troops—to the number of four hundred. He approached the Greeks as if he were a friend, but when his party had got close at hand, on a sudden some of them, horse and foot alike, began shooting with their bows and others with slings, and they inflicted wounds. And the Greek rearguard, while suffering severely, could not retaliate at all; for the Cretan[3] bowmen not only had a shorter range than the Persians, but besides, since they had no armour, they were shut in within the lines of the hoplites; and the Greek javelin-men could not throw far enough to reach the enemy's slingers. Xenophon consequently decided that they must pursue the Persians, and this they did, with such of the hoplites and peltasts as were guarding the rear with him; but in their pursuit they failed to catch a single man of the enemy. For the Greeks had no horsemen, and their foot-soldiers were not able to overtake the enemy's foot-soldiers—since the latter had a long start in their flight—within a short

[1] *cp.* II. v. 1. [2] See ii. 36.
[3] See I. ii. 9. The Cretans were the most famous archers of antiquity.

ὀλίγῳ χωρίῳ· πολὺ γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ
10 ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώκειν· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι
ἱππεῖς καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐτίτρωσκον εἰς τοὔ-
πισθεν τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ὁπόσον δὲ
διώξειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, τοσοῦτον πάλιν ἐπαναχω-
11 ρεῖν μαχομένους ἔδει. ὥστε τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης[1]
διῆλθον οὐ πλέον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, ἀλλὰ
δείλης ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας.

Ἔνθα δὴ πάλιν ἀθυμία ἦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος
καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα
ᾐτιῶντο ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ αὐτός
τε ἐκινδύνευε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον
12 ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν. ἀκούσας δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν
ὅτι ὀρθῶς αἰτιῷντο καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς
μαρτυροίη. ἀλλ᾽ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν,
ἐπειδὴ ἑώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ μένειν κακῶς μὲν πά-
13 σχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐ δυναμένους. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
ἐδιώκομεν, ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς μὲν
γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολε-
14 μίους, ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ παγχαλέπως. τοῖς οὖν
θεοῖς χάρις ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ ῥώμῃ ἀλλὰ σὺν
ὀλίγοις ἤλθον, ὥστε βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλα,
15 δηλῶσαι δὲ ὧν δεόμεθα. νῦν γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι
τοξεύουσι καὶ σφενδονῶσιν ὅσον οὔτε οἱ Κρῆτες
ἀντιτοξεύειν δύνανται οὔτε οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες
ἐξικνεῖσθαι· ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν

[1] ὅλης MSS. except C_1, Mar.: Gem. omits, following C_1.

distance; and a long pursuit, far away from the main Greek army, was not possible. Again, the barbarian horsemen even while they were in flight would inflict wounds by shooting behind them from their horses; and whatever distance the Greeks might at any time cover in their pursuit, all that distance they were obliged to fall back fighting. The result was that during the whole day they travelled not more than twenty-five stadia. They did arrive, however, towards evening at the villages.[1]

Here again there was despondency. And Cheirisophus and the eldest of the generals found fault with Xenophon for leaving the main body of the army to undertake a pursuit, and thus endangering himself without being able, for all that, to do the enemy any harm. When Xenophon heard their words, he replied that they were right in finding fault with him, and that the outcome bore witness of itself for their view. "But," he continued, "I was compelled to pursue when I saw that by keeping our places we were suffering severely and were still unable to strike a blow ourselves. As to what happened, however, when we did pursue, you are quite right: we were no better able to inflict harm upon the enemy, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that we effected our own withdrawal. Let us thank the gods, therefore, that they came, not with a large force, but with a handful, so that without doing us any great damage they have revealed our needs. For at present the enemy can shoot arrows and sling stones so far that neither our Cretan bowmen nor our javelin-men can reach them in reply; and when we pursue them, a long chase,

[1] *i.e.* those mentioned in ii. 34.

οὐχ οἷόν τε χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος διώκειν,
ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ οὐδ' εἰ ταχὺς εἴη πεζὸς πεζὸν ἂν
16 διώκων καταλαμβάνοι ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος. ἡμεῖς
οὖν εἰ μέλλοιμεν τούτους εἴργειν ὥστε μὴ δύ-
νασθαι βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς πορευομένους, σφενδονητῶν
τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ καὶ ἱππέων. ἀκούω δ' εἶναι ἐν
τῷ στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ῥοδίους, ὧν τοὺς πολλούς
φασιν ἐπίστασθαι σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλος αὐτῶν
καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι τῶν Περσικῶν σφεν-
17 δονῶν. ἐκεῖναι γὰρ διὰ τὸ χειροπληθέσι τοῖς
λίθοις σφενδονᾶν ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐξικνοῦνται, οἱ δὲ
Ῥόδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολυβδίσιν ἐπίστανται χρῆσθαι.
18 ἢν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψώμεθα τίνες πέπανται
σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτοις[1] μὲν δῶμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύ-
ριον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι ἄλλο ἀργύριον
τελῶμεν, καὶ τῷ σφενδονᾶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ
ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινὰ ἀτέλειαν εὑρίσκωμεν, ἴσως
19 τινὲς φανοῦνται ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν. ὁρῶ δὲ
ἵππους ὄντας ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μέν τινας
παρ' ἐμοί, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Κλεάρχου καταλελειμ-
μένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους
σκευοφοροῦντας. ἂν οὖν τούτους πάντας ἐκλέ-
ξαντες σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους
εἰς ἱππέας κατασκευάσωμεν, ἴσως καὶ οὗτοί τι
20 τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνιάσουσιν. ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα.

[1] τούτοις Cobet: τούτῳ MSS., followed doubtfully by Mar.: τῷ Gem.

away from our main body, is out of the question, and in a short chase no foot-soldier, even if he is swift, can overtake another foot-soldier who has a bow-shot the start of him. Hence, if we should propose to put an end to the possibility of their harming us on our march, we need slingers ourselves at once, and horsemen also. Now I am told that there are Rhodians[1] in our army, that most of them understand the use of the sling, and that their missile carries no less than twice as far as those from the Persian slings. For the latter have only a short range because the stones that are used in them are as large as the hand can hold; the Rhodians, however, are versed also in the art of slinging leaden bullets. If, therefore, we should ascertain who among them possess slings, and should not only pay these people for their slings, but likewise pay anyone who is willing to plait new ones, and if, furthermore, we should devise some sort of exemption for the man who will volunteer to serve as a slinger at his appointed post, it may be that men will come forward who will be capable of helping us. Again, I observe that there are horses in the army—a few at my own quarters, others that made part of Clearchus' troop and were left behind,[2] and many others that have been taken from the enemy and are used as pack-animals. If, then, we should pick out all these horses, replacing them with mules, and should equip them for cavalry, it may be that this cavalry also will cause some annoyance to the enemy when they are in flight." These proposals also were

[1] Rhodian slingers were hardly less famous than Cretan bowmen.

[2] *i.e.* when Clearchus' troopers deserted to the King (II. ii. 7).

καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς σφενδονῆται μὲν εἰς διακοσίους ἐγένοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ σπολάδες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν, καὶ ἵππαρχος ἐπεστάθη Λύκιος ὁ Πολυστράτου Ἀθηναῖος.

IV. Μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο πρῳαίτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ ἔδει αὐτοὺς διαβῆναι ἐφ' ᾗ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιθοῖντο αὐτοῖς διαβαίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι.
2 διαβεβηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν φαίνεται Μιθραδάτης, ἔχων ἱππέας χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· τοσούτους γὰρ ᾔτησε Τισσαφέρνην, καὶ ἔλαβεν ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν τούτους λάβῃ, παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρόσθεν προσβολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ
3 ἐνόμιζε ποιῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαβεβηκότες ἀπεῖχον τῆς χαράδρας ὅσον ὀκτὼ σταδίους, διέβαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθραδάτης ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. παρήγγελτο δὲ τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὓς ἔδει διώκειν καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν εἴρητο θαρροῦσι διώκειν ὡς ἐφεψομένης ἱκανῆς
4 δυνάμεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μιθραδάτης κατειλήφει, καὶ ἤδη σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐξικνοῦντο, ἐσήμηνε τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐθὺς

adopted, and in the course of that night a company of two hundred slingers was organized, while on the following day horses and horsemen to the number of fifty were examined and accepted, and jerkins and cuirasses were provided for them; and Lycius, the son of Polystratus, an Athenian, was put in command of the troop.

IV. That day they remained quiet, but the next morning they set forth, after rising earlier than usual; for there was a gorge they had to cross, and they were afraid that the enemy might attack them as they were crossing. It was only after they had crossed it, however, that Mithradates appeared again, accompanied by a thousand horsemen and about four thousand bowmen and slingers. For these were the numbers he had requested from Tissaphernes, and these numbers he had obtained upon his promise that, if such a force were given him, he would deliver the Greeks into Tissaphernes' hands; for he had come to despise them, seeing that in his earlier attack with a small force he had done a great deal of harm, as he thought, without suffering any loss himself. When, accordingly, the Greeks were across the gorge and about eight stadia beyond it, Mithradates also proceeded to make the crossing with his troops. Now orders had already been given to such of the Greek peltasts and hoplites as were to pursue the enemy, and the horsemen had been directed to be bold in urging the pursuit, in the assurance that an adequate force would follow at their heels. As soon, then, as Mithradates had caught up, so that his sling-stones and arrows were just beginning to reach their marks, the trumpet gave its signal to the Greeks, and on

ἔθεον ὁμόσε οἷς εἴρητο καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον·
οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὴν
5 χαράδραν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοῖς βαρβάροις
τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθανον πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων
ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ ζωοὶ ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα.
τοὺς δὲ ἀποθανόντας αὐτοκέλευστοι οἱ Ἕλληνες
ᾐκίσαντο, ὡς ὅτι φοβερώτατον τοῖς πολεμίοις
εἴη ὁρᾶν.

6 Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι οὕτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον,
οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν
τῆς ἡμέρας ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν.
7 ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ
ἦν Λάρισα· ᾤκουν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι.
τοῦ δὲ τείχους αὐτῆς ἦν τὸ εὖρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι
πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος
δύο παρασάγγαι· ᾠκοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κερα-
μεαῖς· κρηπὶς δ' ὑπῆν λιθίνη τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι
8 ποδῶν. ταύτην βασιλεὺς Περσῶν ὅτε παρὰ
Μήδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι πολιορκῶν
οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἑλεῖν· ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλη
προκαλύψασα[1] ἠφάνισε μέχρι ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἄν-
9 θρωποι, καὶ οὕτως ἑάλω. παρὰ ταύτην τὴν
πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἑνὸς
πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. ἐπὶ ταύτης
πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν πλησίον
κωμῶν ἀποπεφευγότες.

10 Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἕνα παρα-

[1] ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλη προκαλύψασα Mar., following Brodaeus: ἥλιος δὲ νεφέλην προκαλύψας MSS., Gem.

the instant the foot-soldiers who were under orders rushed upon the enemy and the horsemen charged; and the enemy did not await their attack, but fled towards the gorge. In this pursuit the barbarians had many of their infantry killed, while of their cavalry no less than eighteen were taken alive in the gorge. And the Greek troops, unbidden save by their own impulse, disfigured the bodies of the dead, in order that the sight of them might inspire the utmost terror in the enemy.

After faring thus badly the enemy departed, while the Greeks continued their march unmolested through the remainder of the day and arrived at the Tigris river. Here was a large deserted city[1]; its name was Larisa, and it was inhabited in ancient times by the Medes. Its wall was twenty-five feet in breadth and a hundred in height, and the whole circuit of the wall was two parasangs. It was built of clay bricks, and rested upon a stone foundation twenty feet high. This city was besieged by the king[2] of the Persians at the time when the Persians were seeking to wrest from the Medes their empire, but he could in no way capture it. A cloud, however, overspread the sun and hid it from sight until the inhabitants abandoned their city; and thus it was taken. Near by this city was a pyramid of stone, a plethrum in breadth and two plethra in height; and upon this pyramid were many barbarians who had fled away from the neighbouring villages.

From this place they marched one stage, six

[1] This city, called by Xenophon "Larisa," was the great Assyrian city of Calah, mentioned in *Genesis*, x. 11, 12.
[2] Cyrus the Great (558–529 B.C.).

σάγγας ἓξ πρὸς τεῖχος ἔρημον μέγα κείμενον· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Μέσπιλα· Μῆδοι δ' αὐτήν ποτε ᾤκουν. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπὶς λίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν καὶ τὸ
11 ὕψος πεντήκοντα. ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπῳκοδόμητο πλίνθινον τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ τείχους ἡ περίοδος ἓξ παρασάγγαι. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Μήδεια γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν ὅτε ἀπώλλυσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν
12 ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἑλεῖν οὔτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δὲ βροντῇ κατέπληξε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ οὕτως ἑάλω.
13 Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας τέτταρας. εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐπεφάνη, οὕς τε αὐτὸς ἱππέας ἦλθεν[1] ἔχων καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντα δύναμιν τοῦ τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος καὶ οὓς Κῦρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους καὶ οὓς ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ ἐβοήθει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμ-
14 πολυ ἐφάνη. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν

[1] ἦλθεν MSS., Mar.: ἤγαγεν Gem.

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[1] The ruins which Xenophon saw here were those of Nineveh, the famous capital of the Assyrian Empire. It is curious to find him dismissing this great Assyrian city (as well as Calah above) with the casual and misleading statement that "it was once inhabited by the Medes." In fact, the capture of Nineveh by the Medes (c. 600 B.C.) was the precise event which *closed* the important period of its history, and it remained under the control of the Medes only

parasangs, to a great stronghold, deserted and lying in ruins. The name of this city was Mespila,[1] and it was once inhabited by the Medes. The foundation of its wall was made of polished stone full of shells, and was fifty feet in breadth and fifty in height. Upon this foundation was built a wall of brick, fifty feet in breadth and a hundred in height; and the circuit of the wall was six parasangs. Here, as the story goes, Medea, the king's[2] wife, took refuge at the time when the Medes were deprived of their empire by the Persians. To this city also the king of the Persians laid siege, but he was unable to capture it either by length of siege or by storm; Zeus, however, terrified the inhabitants with thunder, and thus the city was taken.

From this place they marched one stage, four parasangs. In the course of this stage Tissaphernes made his appearance, having under his command the cavalry which he had himself brought with him,[3] the troops of Orontas,[4] who was married to the King's daughter, the barbarians whom Cyrus had brought with him on his upward march, and those with whom the King's brother had come to the aid of the King[5]; besides these contingents Tissaphernes had all the troops that the King had given him; the result was, that his army appeared exceedingly large. When he got near the Greeks, he

during the succeeding half-century, *i.e.* until the Median Empire was in its turn overthrown by the Persians (549 B.C.). Xenophon, then, goes but one unimportant step backward in his historical note—perhaps because he did not care to go farther, perhaps because he was unable to do so.

[2] Astyages, the last king of Media.

[3] *i.e.* from his province in Asia Minor, when he came to inform Artaxerxes of Cyrus' designs against him. See I. ii. 4.

[4] *cp.* II. iv. 8. [5] *cp.* II. iv. 25.

τάξεων ὄπισθεν καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγὼν ἐμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν οὐδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν, σφενδονᾶν δὲ παρ-
15 ήγγειλε καὶ τοξεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν καὶ οἱ τοξόται ἐτόξευσαν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν ἀνδρός (οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ προυθυμεῖτο ῥᾴδιον ἦν), καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως ἔξω βελῶν ἀπεχώρει καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν.

16 Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δ' εἵποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσίνοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· μακρότερον γὰρ οἵ γε Ῥόδιοι τῶν Περσῶν ἐσφενδόνων, καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν.[1]
17 μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστιν· ὥστε χρήσιμα ἦν ὁπόσα ἁλίσκοιτο τῶν τοξευμάτων[2] τοῖς Κρησί, καὶ διετέλουν χρώμενοι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἱέντες μακράν. ηὑρίσκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ μόλυβδος, ὥστε χρῆσθαι εἰς
18 τὰς σφενδόνας. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες κώμαις ἐπιτυ-

[1] Mar. follows Madvig in regarding the text here as corrupt.
[2] τῶν τοξευμάτων MSS.: Gem. brackets.

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[1] *i.e.* on account of the dense throng of the enemy.
[2] *cp.* iii. 7–10.
[3] Xenophon remarks in iii. 17 upon the large size of the stones employed in the Persian slings. The word "also" (*καὶ*) can hardly refer back to that remark, but it may be

stationed some of his battalions in their rear and moved others into position on their flanks; then, although he could not muster up the courage to close with them and had no desire to risk a decisive battle, he ordered his men to discharge their slings and let fly their arrows. But when the Rhodian slingers and the bowmen, posted at intervals here and there, sent back an answering volley, and not a man among them missed his mark (for even if he had been very eager to do so, it would not have been easy),[1] then Tissaphernes withdrew out of range with all speed, and the other battalions followed his example.

For the rest of the day the one army continued its march and the other its pursuit. And the barbarians were no longer[2] able to do any harm by their skirmishing at long range; for the Rhodian slingers carried farther with their missiles than the Persians, farther even than the Persian bowmen. The Persian bows are also[3] large, and consequently the Cretans could make good use of all the arrows that fell into their hands; in fact, they were continually using the enemy's arrows, and practised themselves in long-range work by shooting them into the air.[4] In the villages, furthermore, the Greeks found gut in abundance and lead for the use of their slingers. As for that day's doings, when the Greeks came upon some villages and proceeded to encamp,

that some further observation of the same sort in the original text (see critical note) of the present passage served to introduce what Xenophon now goes on to say about the Persian bows. It is implied in "consequently" (ὥστε) that the Cretan bows were of approximately the same size as those of the Persians.

[4] So that the arrows could be easily recovered.

χόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι μεῖον ἔχοντες τῇ
ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δ' ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἔμειναν οἱ
Ἕλληνες καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο· ἦν γὰρ πολὺς σῖτος
ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο διὰ
τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρνης εἵπετο ἀκροβολι-
ζόμενος.
19 Ἔνθα δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔγνωσαν πλαίσιον ἰσό-
πλευρον ὅτι πονηρὰ τάξις εἴη πολεμίων ἑπομένων.
ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν, ἢν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ
πλαισίου ἢ ὁδοῦ στενοτέρας οὔσης ἢ ὀρέων ἀναγ-
καζόντων ἢ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὁπλίτας
καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονήρως, ἅμα μὲν πιεζομένους,
ἅμα δὲ ταραττομένους, ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι
20 ἀτάκτους ὄντας· ὅταν δ' αὖ διάσχῃ τὰ κέρατα,
ἀνάγκη διασπᾶσθαι τοὺς τότε ἐκθλιβομένους καὶ
κενὸν γίγνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν κεράτων, καὶ ἀθυ-
μεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα πάσχοντας πολεμίων ἑπομένων.
καὶ ὁπότε δέοι γέφυραν διαβαίνειν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ
διάβασιν, ἔσπευδεν ἕκαστος βουλόμενος φθάσαι
πρῶτος· καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολε-
21 μίοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐποί-
ησαν ἓξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς
ἐπέστησαν καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντῆρας καὶ ἄλ-
λους ἐνωμοτάρχους. οὗτοι δὲ πορευόμενοι, ὁπότε
μὲν συγκύπτοι τὰ κέρατα, ὑπέμενον ὕστεροι,

[1] *i.e.* commanders of fifties and twenty-fives, or of half and quarter companies.

[2] The formation is a hollow square. Xenophon means by "wings" (κέρατα, here and above) the right and left ends of the division which formed the front of the square, and by

the barbarians withdrew, having had the worst of it in the skirmishing. The following day the Greeks remained quiet and collected supplies, for there was an abundance of corn in the villages. On the day thereafter they continued their march through the plain, and Tissaphernes hung upon their rear and kept up the skirmishing.

Then it was that the Greeks found out that a square is a poor formation when an enemy is following. For if the wings draw together, either because a road is unusually narrow or because mountains or a bridge make it necessary, it is inevitable that the hoplites should be squeezed out of line and should march with difficulty, inasmuch as they are crowded together and are likewise in confusion; the result is that, being in disorder, they are of little service. Furthermore, when the wings draw apart again, those who were lately squeezed out are inevitably scattered, the space between the wings is left unoccupied, and the men affected are out of spirits when an enemy is close behind them. Again, as often as the army had to pass over a bridge or make any other crossing, every man would hurry, in the desire to be the first one across, and that gave the enemy a fine chance to make an attack. When the generals came to realize these difficulties, they formed six companies of a hundred men each and put a captain at the head of each company, adding also platoon and squad commanders.[1] Then in case the wings drew together on the march,[2] these

"flanks" (πλευραί) the divisions which formed the sides of the square. Apparently three of the special companies were stationed at the middle of the front side of the square (*cp.* § 43 below) and the other three in the corresponding position at the rear.

ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς κέρασι, τότε[1] δὲ παρῆγον
22 ἔξωθεν τῶν κεράτων. ὁπότε δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον ἂν ἐξεπίμπλασαν, εἰ μὲν στενότερον εἴη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ λόχους, εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντηκοστῦς, εἰ δὲ πάνυ πλατύ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε ἀεὶ ἔκπλεων
23 εἶναι τὸ μέσον. εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινὰ δέοι διάβασιν ἢ γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λόχοι[2] διέβαινον· καὶ εἴ που δέοι τι τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιπαρῆσαν οὗτοι. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας.
24 Ἡνίκα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον ἐπορεύοντο, εἶδον βασίλειόν τι καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κώμας πολλάς, τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γιγνομένην, οἳ καθῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ὑφ' ᾧ ἦσαν αἱ κῶμαι.[3] καὶ εἶδον μὲν τοὺς λόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων ἱππέων·
25 ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον γήλοφον καὶ κατέβαινον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀναβαίνειν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ εἰς τὸ πρανὲς ἔβαλ-

[1] τότε the inferior MSS., Mar.: τοὺς the better MSS. Gem., reading τοὺς, inserts οἱ μὲν before ὕστεροι, following Mangelsdorf. After ὕστεροι the MSS. have οἱ λοχαγοί, which Mar. and Gem. bracket.
[2] οἱ λόχοι Gem., following Valckenaer: οἱ λοχαγοὶ MSS.
[3] ἦσαν αἱ κῶμαι Gem., following Schenkl: ἦν ἡ κώμη MSS.

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[1] The squad, or quarter company, consisting of 25 men (*i.e.* 24 + the leader), normally marched three abreast, *i.e.* with a front of three and a depth of eight. The company

companies would drop back, so as not to interfere with the wings, and for the time being would move along behind the wings; and when the flanks of the square drew apart again, they would fill up the space between the wings, by companies in case this space was rather narrow, by platoons in case it was broader, or, if it was very broad, by squads[1]—the idea being, to have the gap filled up in any event. Again, if the army had to make some crossing or to pass over a bridge, there was no confusion, but each company crossed over in its turn; and if any help was needed in any part of the army, these troops would make their way to the spot. In this fashion the Greeks proceeded four stages.

In the course of the fifth stage they caught sight of a palace of some sort, with many villages round about it, and they observed that the road to this place passed over high hills, which stretched down from the mountain at whose foot the villages were situated. And the Greeks were well pleased to see the hills, as was natural considering that the enemy's force was cavalry;[2] when, however, in their march out of the plain they had mounted to the top of the first hill, and were descending it, so as to ascend the next, at this moment the barbarians came upon them and down from the hilltop discharged their missiles

might be formed in any one of three ways: (*a*) one squad front and four deep, (*b*) two squads front and two deep, or (*c*) four squads front and one deep. Three companies ranged alongside one another in formation (*a*) would thus have a front of three squads or nine men, in formation (*b*) a front of eighteen men, and in formation (*c*) a front of thirty-six men. It is these three dispositions of the three special companies at the front of the square which Xenophon terms, respectively, "by companies," "by platoons," and "by squads."

[2] Which is most effective in a level country.

26 λον, ἐσφενδόνων, ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων, καὶ
πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν Ἑλλή-
νων γυμνήτων καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἴσω τῶν
ὅπλων· ὥστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν
ἄχρηστοι ἦσαν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες καὶ οἱ σφενδο-
27 νῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται. ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ
Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν, σχολῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ
ἄκρον ἀφικνοῦνται ὁπλῖται ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι
28 ταχὺ ἀπεπήδων. πάλιν δὲ ὁπότε ἀπίοιεν πρὸς
τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ταὐτὰ ἔπασχον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ
δευτέρου γηλόφου ταὐτὰ ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ
τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ κινεῖν τοὺς
στρατιώτας πρὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ
πλαισίου ἀνήγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὄρος.
29 ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑπομένων πολε-
μίων, οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς κατα-
βαίνουσι, δεδοικότες μὴ ἀποτμηθείησαν καὶ ἀμ-
30 φοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν γένοιντο οἱ πολέμιοι. οὕτω τὸ
λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ
κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαρι-
όντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας· καὶ ἰατροὺς κατ-
έστησαν ὀκτώ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι.
31 Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ τῶν τετρω-
μένων ἕνεκα καὶ ἅμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον,
ἄλευρα, οἶνον, κριθὰς ἵπποις συμβεβλημένας

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[1] Like Xerxes' troops at Thermopylae (Herod. vii. 223).

and sling-stones and arrows, fighting under the lash.[1] They not only inflicted many wounds, but they got the better of the Greek light troops and shut them up within the lines of the hoplites, so that these troops, being mingled with the non-combatants, were entirely useless throughout that day, slingers and bowmen alike. And when the Greeks, hard-pressed as they were, undertook to pursue the attacking force, they reached the hilltop but slowly, being heavy troops, while the enemy sprang quickly out of reach; and every time they returned from a pursuit to join the main army, they suffered again in the same way.[2] On the second hill the same experiences were repeated, and hence after ascending the third hill they decided not to stir the troops from its crest until they had led up a force of peltasts from the right flank of the square to a position on the mountain.[3] As soon as this force had got above the hostile troops that were hanging upon the Greek rear, the latter desisted from attacking the Greek army in its descent, for fear that they might be cut off and find themselves enclosed on both sides by their foes. In this way the Greeks continued their march for the remainder of the day, the one division by the road leading over the hills while the other followed a parallel course along the mountain slope, and so arrived at the villages. There they appointed eight surgeons, for the wounded were many.

In these villages they remained for three days, not only for the sake of the wounded, but likewise because they had provisions in abundance—flour, wine, and great stores of barley that had been

[2] *i.e.* as described in §§ 25–26. [3] *cp.* § 24.

πολλάς. ταῦτα δὲ συνενηνεγμένα ἦν τῷ σατρα-
πεύοντι τῆς χώρας. τετάρτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ καταβαί-
32 νουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς
Τισσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἡ
ἀνάγκη κατασκηνῆσαι οὗ πρῶτον εἶδον κώμην
καὶ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἔτι μαχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ
ἦσαν οἱ ἀπόμαχοι, οἵ τε τετρωμένοι καὶ οἱ ἐκεί-
νους φέροντες καὶ οἱ τῶν φερόντων τὰ ὅπλα δεξά-
33 μενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεσκήνησαν καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν
αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολίζεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τὴν
κώμην προσιόντες, πολὺ περιῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες·
πολὺ γὰρ διέφερεν ἐκ χώρας ὁρμῶντας ἀλέξασθαι
ἢ πορευομένους ἐπιοῦσι τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι.
34 Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἤδη δείλη, ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς
πολεμίοις· οὔποτε γὰρ μεῖον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο
οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἑξήκοντα σταδίων,
φοβούμενοι μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιθῶνται
35 αὐτοῖς. πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτός ἐστι στράτευμα
Περσικόν. οἵ τε γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς δέδενται καὶ
ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσὶ τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν
ἕνεκα εἰ λυθείησαν, ἐάν τέ τις θόρυβος γίγνηται,
δεῖ ἐπισάξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ καὶ χαλι-
νῶσαι, δεῖ καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν
ἵππον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ νύκτωρ καὶ
θορύβου ὄντος. τούτου ἕνεκα πόρρω ἀπεσκή-
νουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
36 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγίγνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες βουλο-
μένους ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγγελλομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς

collected for horses, all these supplies having been gathered together by the acting satrap of the district. On the fourth day they proceeded to descend into the plain. But when Tissaphernes and his command overtook them, necessity taught them to encamp in the first village they caught sight of, and not to continue the plan of marching and fighting at the same time; for a large number of the Greeks were *hors de combat*, not only the wounded, but also those who were carrying them and the men who took in charge the arms of these carriers. When they had encamped, and the barbarians, approaching toward the village, essayed to attack them at long range, the Greeks had much the better of it; for to occupy a position and therefrom ward off an attack was a very different thing from being on the march and fighting with the enemy as they followed after.

As soon as it came to be late in the afternoon, it was time for the enemy to withdraw. For in no instance did the barbarians encamp at a distance of less than sixty stadia from the Greek camp, out of fear that the Greeks might attack them during the night. For a Persian army at night is a sorry thing. Their horses are tethered, and usually hobbled also to prevent their running away if they get loose from the tether, and hence in case of any alarm a Persian has to put saddle-cloth and bridle on his horse, and then has also to put on his own breastplate and mount his horse—and all these things are difficult at night and in the midst of confusion. It was for this reason that the Persians encamped at a considerable distance from the Greeks.

When the Greeks became aware that they were desirous of withdrawing and were passing the word

῞Ελλησι συσκευάζεσθαι ἀκουόντων τῶν πολε-
μίων. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας
οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀψὲ ἐγίγνετο, ἀπῆσαν· οὐ
γὰρ ἐδόκει λύειν αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς πορεύεσθαι καὶ
37 κατάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
σαφῶς ἀπιόντας ἤδη ἑώρων οἱ ῞Ελληνες, ἐπορεύ-
οντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναζεύξαντες καὶ διῆλθον ὅσον
ἑξήκοντα σταδίους. καὶ γίγνεται τοσοῦτον με-
ταξὺ τῶν στρατευμάτων ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οὐκ
ἐφάνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ, τῇ δὲ τετάρ-
τῃ νυκτὸς προελθόντες καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον
ὑπερδέξιον οἱ βάρβαροι, ᾗ ἔμελλον οἱ ῞Ελληνες
παριέναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους, ὑφ᾽ ἣν ἡ κατάβασις
ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.
38 ᾽Επειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα Χειρίσοφος προκατειλημμένην
τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς
καὶ κελεύει λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παρα-
39 γενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τοὺς μὲν
πελταστὰς οὐκ ἦγεν· ἐπιφαινόμενον γὰρ ἑώρα Τισ-
σαφέρνην καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ προσε-
λάσας ἠρώτα Τί καλεῖς; ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· ῎Εξεστιν
ὁρᾶν· κατείληπται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβά-
σεως λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τούτους
40 ἀποκόψομεν. ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἦγες τοὺς πελταστάς;
ὁ δὲ λέγει ὅτι οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἔρημα καταλιπεῖν
τὰ ὄπισθεν πολεμίων ἐπιφαινομένων. ᾽Αλλὰ μὴν
ὥρα γ᾽, ἔφη, βουλεύεσθαι πῶς τις τοὺς ἄνδρας
41 ἀπελᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν ὁρᾷ

along, the order to pack up luggage was proclaimed to the Greek troops within hearing of the enemy. For a time the barbarians delayed their setting out, but when it began to grow late, they went off; for they thought it did not pay to be on the march and arriving at their camp in the night. When the Greeks saw at length that they were manifestly departing, they broke camp and took the road themselves, and accomplished a march of no less than sixty stadia. Thus the two armies got so far apart that on the next day the enemy did not appear, nor yet on the third; on the fourth day, however, after pushing forward by night the barbarians occupied a high position on the right of the road by which the Greeks were to pass, a spur of the mountain, namely, along the base of which ran the route leading down into the plain.

As soon as Cheirisophus observed that the spur was already occupied, he summoned Xenophon from the rear, directing him to come to the front and bring the peltasts with him. Xenophon, however, would not bring the peltasts, for he could see Tissaphernes and his whole army coming into view;[1] but he rode forward himself and asked, "Why are you summoning me?" Cheirisophus replied, "It is perfectly evident; the hill overhanging our downward road has been occupied, and there is no getting by unless we dislodge these people. Why did you not bring the peltasts?" Xenophon answered that he had not thought it best to leave the rear unprotected when hostile troops were coming into sight. "Well, at any rate," said Cheirisophus, "it is high time to be thinking how we are to drive these fellows from the height." Then Xenophon observed that the

[1] *i.e.* from the rear.

τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος οὖσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ λέγει· Κράτιστον, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἡμῖν ἵεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον· ἢν γὰρ τοῦτο λάβωμεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μένειν οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἀλλά, εἰ βούλει, μένε ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρῄζεις, πορεύου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐγὼ

42 δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλὰ δίδωμί σοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ὁπότερον βούλει ἑλέσθαι. εἰπὼν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὅτι νεώτερός ἐστιν αἱρεῖται πορεύεσθαι, κελεύει δέ οἱ συμπέμψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἄνδρας· μακρὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς λαβεῖν.

43 καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πελταστάς, ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσον πλαισίου. συνέπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ[1] καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους οὓς αὐτὸς εἶχε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πλαισίου.

44 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πολέμιοι ὡς ἐνόησαν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, εὐθὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὥρ-

45 μησαν ἁμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ μὲν κραυγὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος διακελευομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν, πολλὴ δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δια-

46 κελευομένων. Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρελαύνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου παρεκελεύετο· Ἄνδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε ἁμιλλᾶσθαι, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, νῦν ὀλίγον πονήσαντες ἀμαχεὶ

[1] αὐτῷ the inferior MSS., Mar.: αὐτοὺς the better MSS. Gem. brackets αὐτοὺς, following Rehdantz.

summit of the mountain was close above their own army and that from this summit there was a way of approach to the hill where the enemy were; and he said, "Our best plan, Cheirisophus, is to drive with all speed for the mountain top; for if we once get possession of that, those men above our road will not be able to hold their position. If you choose, then, stay in command of the army, and I will go; or, if you prefer, you make for the mountain top, and I will stay here." "Well," said Cheirisophus, "I leave it to you to choose whichever part you wish." Then Xenophon, with the remark that he was the younger, elected to go, but he urged Cheirisophus to send with him some troops from the front; for it would have been too long a journey to bring up men from the rear. Cheirisophus accordingly sent with him the peltasts at the front, replacing them with those that were inside the square; he also ordered the three hundred picked men[1] under his own command at the front of the square to join Xenophon's force.

Then they set out with all possible speed. But no sooner had the enemy upon the hill observed their dash for the summit of the mountain than they also set off, to race with the Greeks for this summit. Then there was a deal of shouting from the Greek army as they urged on their friends, and just as much shouting from Tissaphernes' troops to urge on their men. And Xenophon, riding along the lines upon his horse, cheered his troops forward: "My good men," he said, "believe that now you are racing for Greece, racing this very hour back to your wives and children, a little toil for this one moment and no more fighting for the rest of our

[1] See § 21 above and note 2 thereon.

47 τὴν λοιπὴν πορευσόμεθα. Σωτηρίδας δὲ ὁ
Σικυώνιος εἶπεν· Οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμέν·
σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππου ὀχῇ, ἐγὼ δὲ χαλεπῶς
48 κάμνω τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων. καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας
ταῦτα καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ὠθεῖται
αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφελόμενος
ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἔχων ἐπορεύετο· ἐτύγχανε
δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἔχων τὸν ἱππικόν· ὥστ' ἐπιέζετο.
καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπάγειν παρεκελεύετο,
49 τοῖς δὲ ὄπισθεν παριέναι μόλις ἑπόμενος. οἱ δ'
ἄλλοι στρατιῶται παίουσι καὶ βάλλουσι καὶ
λοιδοροῦσι τὸν Σωτηρίδαν, ἔστε ἠνάγκασαν
ἀναλαβόντα[1] τὴν ἀσπίδα πορεύεσθαι. ὁ δ'
ἀναβάς, ἕως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν,
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπευδε
πεζῇ. καὶ φθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενοι
τοὺς πολεμίους.

V. Ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι στραφέντες
ἔφευγον ᾗ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες εἶχον
τὸ ἄκρον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην καὶ Ἀριαῖον
ἀποτραπόμενοι ἄλλην ὁδὸν ᾤχοντο. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ
Χειρίσοφον καταβάντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν
κώμῃ μεστῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι
κῶμαι πολλαὶ πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τούτῳ
2 τῷ πεδίῳ παρὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. ἡνίκα
δ' ἦν δείλη ἐξαπίνης οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιφαίνονται ἐν
τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέκοψάν τινας
τῶν ἐσκεδασμένων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' ἁρπαγήν·

[1] ἀναλαβόντα Gem., following Bisschop: λαβόντα MSS.

journey." But Soteridas the Sicyonian said: "We are not on an equality, Xenophon; you are riding on horseback, while I am desperately tired with carrying my shield." When Xenophon heard that, he leaped down from his horse and pushed Soteridas out of his place in the line, then took his shield away from him and marched on with it as fast as he could; he had on also, as it happened, his cavalry breastplate, and the result was that he was heavily burdened. And he urged the men in front of him to keep going, while he told those who were behind to pass along by him, for he found it hard to keep up. The rest of the soldiers, however, struck and pelted and abused Soteridas until they forced him to take back his shield and march on. Then Xenophon remounted, and as long as riding was possible, led the way on horseback, but when the ground became too difficult, he left his horse behind and hurried forward on foot. And they reached the summit before the enemy.

V. Then it was that the barbarians turned about and fled, every man for himself, while the Greeks held possession of the summit. As for the troops under Tissaphernes and Ariaeus, they turned off by another road and were gone; and the army under Cheirisophus descended into the plain[1] and proceeded to encamp in a village stored with abundant supplies. There were likewise many other villages richly stored with supplies in this plain on the banks of the Tigris. When it came to be late in the day, all of a sudden the enemy appeared in the plain and cut to pieces some of the Greeks who were scattered about there in quest of plunder; in fact, many herds

[1] See iv. 37 *fin.*

καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων διαβιβαζό-
μεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελήφθησαν.
3 ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καίειν
ἐπεχείρησαν τὰς κώμας. καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα
ἠθύμησάν τινες, ἐννοούμενοι μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ
4 καίοιεν, οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὁπόθεν λαμβάνοιεν. καὶ οἱ
μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπῇσαν ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας·
ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελαύνων τὰς
τάξεις ἡνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπήντησαν οἱ
5 Ἕλληνες ἔλεγεν· Ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες,
ὑφιέντας τὴν χώραν ἤδη ἡμετέραν εἶναι; ἃ γὰρ
ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο διεπράττοντο, μὴ καίειν τὴν
βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ καίουσιν ὡς ἀλλο-
τρίαν. ἀλλ᾿ ἐάν που καταλείπωσί γε αὐτοῖς
ἐπιτήδεια, ὄψονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευο-
6 μένους. ἀλλ᾿, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι
βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς καίοντας ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας.
ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· Οὔκουν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ·
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, καίωμεν, καὶ οὕτω θᾶττον
παύσονται.

7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
περὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ
λοχαγοὶ συνῆσαν. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία
ἦν. ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἦν ὑπερύψηλα, ἔνθεν δὲ ὁ
ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος βάθος ὡς μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα
8 ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις τοῦ βάθους. ἀπορου-
μένοις δ᾿ αὐτοῖς προσελθών τις ἀνὴρ Ῥόδιος
εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ θέλω, ὦ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι ὑμᾶς

of cattle had been captured while they were being taken across to the other side of the river. Then Tissaphernes and his followers attempted to burn the villages; and some of the Greeks got exceedingly despondent, out of apprehension that they would not have a place from which to get provisions in case the enemy should succeed in this attempt. Meanwhile Cheirisophus and his men, who had gone to the rescue of the plunderers, were returning; and when Xenophon had come down from the mountain, he rode along the lines upon falling in with the Greeks of the rescuing party and said: "Do you observe, men of Greece, that they admit the country is now ours? For while they stipulated when they made the treaty that there should be no burning of the King's territory, now they are doing that very thing themselves, as though the land were another's. At any rate, if they leave supplies anywhere for their own use, they shall behold us also proceeding to that spot. But, Cheirisophus," he went on, "it seems to me that we ought to sally forth against these incendiaries, like men defending their own country." "Well, it doesn't seem so to me," said Cheirisophus; "rather, let us set about burning ourselves, and then they will stop the sooner."

When they had come to their quarters, the troops were busy about provisions, but the generals and captains gathered in council. And here there was great despondency. For on one side of them were exceedingly high mountains and on the other side a river so deep that not even their spears reached above water when they tried its depth. In the midst of their perplexity a Rhodian came to them and said: "I stand ready, gentlemen, to set you across

κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους ὁπλίτας, ἂν ἐμοὶ ὧν δέομαι
ὑπηρετήσητε καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορίσητε.
9 ἐρωτώμενος δὲ ὅτου δέοιτο, Ἀσκῶν, ἔφη, δισχι-
λίων δεήσομαι· πολλὰ δ᾽ ὁρῶ πρόβατα καὶ αἶγας
καὶ βοῦς καὶ ὄνους, ἃ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα
10 ῥᾳδίως ἂν παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. δεήσομαι δὲ
καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν οἷς χρῆσθε περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια·
τούτοις ζεύξας τοὺς ἀσκοὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
ὁρμίσας ἕκαστον ἀσκὸν λίθους ἀρτήσας καὶ ἀφεὶς
ὥσπερ ἀγκύρας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, διαγαγὼν καὶ
ἀμφοτέρωθεν δήσας ἐπιβαλῶ ὕλην καὶ γῆν
11 ἐπιφορήσω· ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε αὐτίκα
μάλα εἴσεσθε· πᾶς γὰρ ἀσκὸς δύ᾽ ἄνδρας ἕξει
τοῦ μὴ καταδῦναι. ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθάνειν ἡ ὕλη
12 καὶ ἡ γῆ σχήσει. ἀκούσασι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατη-
γοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χαρίεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ
δ᾽ ἔργον ἀδύνατον. ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ κωλύσοντες
πέραν πολλοὶ ἱππεῖς, οἳ εὐθὺς τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲν
ἂν ἐπέτρεπον τούτων ποιεῖν.

13 Ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν ἐπανεχώρουν[1] εἰς
τοὔμπαλιν εἰς τὰς ἀκαύστους κώμας, κατακαύ
σαντες ἔνθεν ἐξῇσαν· ὥστε οἱ πολέμιοι οὐ προσή-
λαυνον, ἀλλὰ ἐθεῶντο καὶ ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμά-
ζουσιν ὅποι ποτὲ τρέψονται οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τί ἐν
14 νῷ ἔχοιεν. ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται

[1] *ἐπανεχώρουν* the inferior MSS., Gem.: *ὑπανεχώρουν* the better MSS., Mar.

the river, four thousand hoplites at a time, if you will provide me with the means that I require and give me a talent for pay." Upon being asked what his requirements were, he replied: "I shall need two thousand skins. I see plenty of sheep and goats and cattle and asses; take off their skins and blow them up, and they would easily provide the means of crossing.[1] I shall want also the girths which you use on the beasts of burden; with these I shall tie the skins to one another and also moor each skin by fastening stones to the girths and letting them down into the water like anchors; then I shall carry the line of skins across the river, make it fast at both ends, and pile on brushwood and earth. As for your not sinking, then, you may be sure in an instant on that point, for every skin will keep two men from sinking; and as regards slipping, the brushwood and the earth will prevent that." After hearing these words the generals thought that while the idea was a clever one, the execution of it was impossible. For there were people on the other side of the river to thwart it, a large force of horsemen, namely, who at the very outset would prevent the first comers from carrying out any part of the plan.

Under these circumstances they marched all the next day in the reverse direction, going back to the unburned villages,[2] after burning the one from which they withdrew. The result was that, instead of making an attack, the enemy merely gazed at the Greeks, and appeared to be wondering where in the world they would turn and what they had in mind. At the close of the day, while the rest of the army

[1] *cp.* I. v. 10, II. iv. 28.
[2] See §§ 1 and 3 above.

ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ πάλιν
συνῆλθον, καὶ συναγαγόντες τοὺς ἑαλωκότας
ἤλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν χώραν τίς ἑκάστη εἴη.
15 οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ
Βαβυλῶνα εἴη καὶ Μηδίαν, δι' ἧσπερ ἥκοιεν,
ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἕω ἐπὶ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Ἐκβάτανα φέροι,
ἔνθα θερίζειν λέγεται βασιλεύς, ἡ δὲ διαβάντι
τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐπὶ Λυδίαν καὶ
Ἰωνίαν φέροι, ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὀρέων καὶ πρὸς
ἄρκτον τετραμμένη ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγοι.
16 τούτους δὲ ἔφασαν οἰκεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη καὶ πολε-
μικοὺς εἶναι, καὶ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιὰν
δώδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων δ' οὐδέν' ἀπονοστῆσαι
διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν. ὁπότε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν
σατράπην ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σπείσαιντο, καὶ ἐπιμει-
γνύναι σφῶν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς
ἑαυτούς.
17 Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκάθισαν
χωρὶς τοὺς ἑκασταχόσε φάσκοντας εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν
δῆλον ποιήσαντες ὅποι πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον.
ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διὰ τῶν
ὀρέων εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβάλλειν· τούτους γὰρ
διελθόντας ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἥξειν, ἧς
Ὀρόντας ἦρχε πολλῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος. ἐντεῦθεν
δ' εὔπορον ἔφασαν εἶναι ὅποι τις ἐθέλοι πορεύ-
18 εσθαι. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως ἡνίκα καὶ

went after provisions, the generals held another meeting, at which they brought together the prisoners that had been taken and enquired of them about each district of all the surrounding country. The prisoners said that the region to the south lay on the road towards Babylon and Media, the identical province they had just passed through; that the road to the eastward led to Susa and Ecbatana, where the King is said to spend his summers; across the river and on to the west was the way to Lydia and Ionia; while the route through the mountains and northward led to the country of the Carduchians. These Carduchians, they said, dwelt up among the mountains, were a warlike people, and were not subjects of the King; in fact, a royal army of one hundred and twenty thousand men had once invaded them, and, by reason of the ruggedness of the country, not a man of all that number came back. Still, whenever they made a treaty with the satrap in the plain, some of the people of the plain did have dealings with the Carduchians and some of the Carduchians with them.

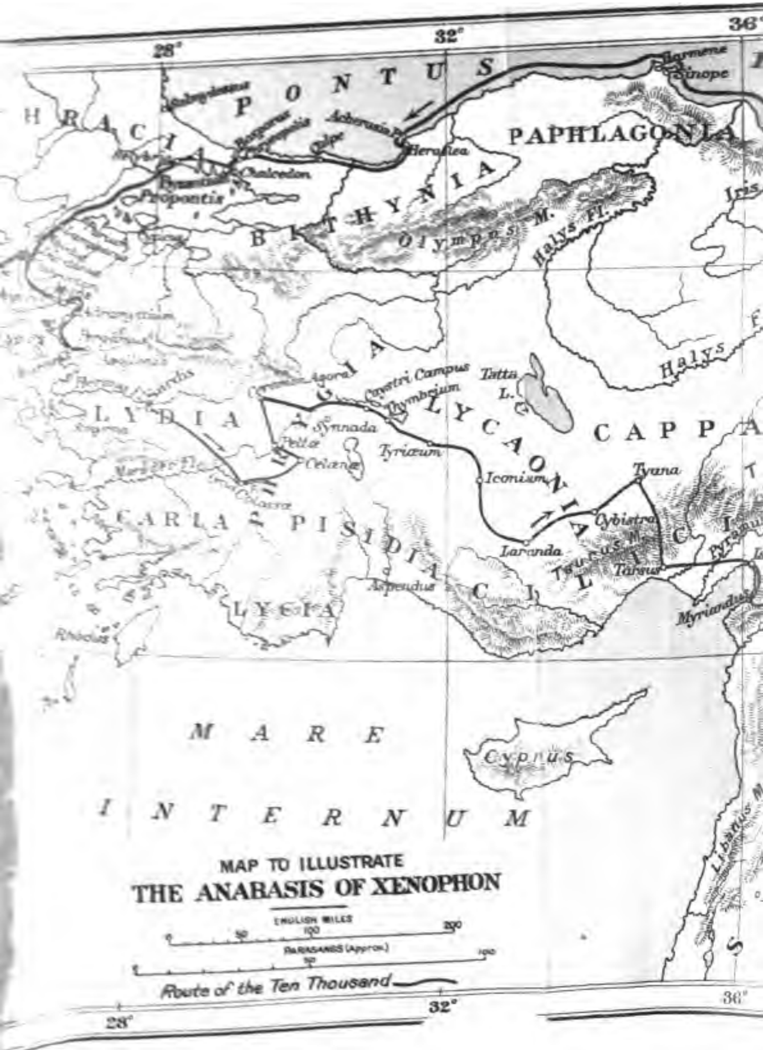
After listening to these statements from the men who claimed to know the way in every direction, the generals caused them to withdraw, without giving them the least clue as to the direction in which they proposed to march. The opinion of the generals, however, was that they must make their way through the mountains into the country of the Carduchians; for the prisoners said that after passing through this country they would come to Armenia, the large and prosperous province of which Orontas was ruler; and from there, they said, it was easy to go in any direction one chose. Thereupon the generals offered

δοκοίη τῆς ὥρας τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο· τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ὀρέων ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ προκαταληφθείη· καὶ παρήγγειλαν, ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσαιεν, συσκευασαμένους πάντας ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ ἕπεσθαι ἡνίκ᾽ ἄν τις παραγγέλλῃ.

sacrifice, so that they could begin the march at the moment they thought best[1]—for they feared that the pass over the mountains might be occupied in advance; and they issued orders that when the troops had dined, every man should pack up his belongings and go to rest, and then fall into line as soon as the word of command was given.

[1] As a rule it was *immediately* before an army set out that sacrifice was offered.

INDEX TO HELLENICA


MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON
ENGLISH MILES
0
50
100
200
PARASANGS (Approx.)
50
100
Route of the Ten Thousand
28°
32°
36°
PONTUS
PAPHLAGONIA
BITHYNIA
Heraclea
Chalcedon
Byzantium
Propontis
Sinope
Armene
Olympus M.
Halys Fl.
Halys
Iris
Tatta L.
LYCAONIA
CAPPA
Iconium
Tyana
Cybistra
Laranda
Taurus M.
Tarsus
Myriandus
Pyramus
LYDIA
Sardis
Smyrna
Celaenae
Peltae
Synnada
Tyriaeum
Thymbrium
Caystri Campus
Colossae
CARIA
PISIDIA
LYCIA
Aspendus
Rhodus
CILICIA
Cyprus
Libanus M.
MARE INTERNUM



Stanford's Geog.